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LIFE OF ALEXANDER.

IN writing the Lives of Alexander the Great and of Cæsar the conqueror of Pompeius, which are contained in this book, I have before me such an abundance of materials, that I shall make no other preface than to beg the reader, if he finds any of their famous exploits recorded imperfectly, and with large excisions, not to regard this as a fault. I am writing biography, not history; and often a man's most brilliant actions prove nothing as to his true character, while some trifling incident, some casual remark or jest, will throw more light upon what manner of man he was than the bloodiest battle, the greatest array of armies, or the most important siege. Therefore, just as portrait painters pay most attention to those peculiarities of the face and eyes, in which the likeness consists, and care but little for the rest of the figure, so it is my duty to dwell especially upon those actions which reveal the workings of my heroes' minds, and from these to construct the portraits of their respective lives, leaving their battles and their great deeds to be recorded by others.

II. All are agreed that Alexander was descended on his father's side from Herakles through Karanus, and on his mother's from Æakus through Neoptolemus.

We are told that Philip and Olympias first met during their initiation into the sacred mysteries at Samothrace, and that he, while yet a boy, fell in love with the orphan girl, and persuaded her brother Arymbas to consent to their marriage. The bride, before she consorted with her husband, dreamed that she had been struck by a thunderbolt, from which a sheet of flame sprang out in every direction, and then suddenly died away. Philip himself some time after his marriage dreamed that he set a seal

upon his wife's body, on which was engraved the figure of a lion. When he consulted the soothsayers as to what this meant, most of them declared the meaning to be, that his wife required more careful watching; but Aristander of Telmessus declared that she must be pregnant, because men do not seal up what is empty, and that she would bear a son of a spirited and lion-like disposition. Once Philip found his wife asleep, with a large tame snake stretched beside her; and this, it is said, quite put an end to his passion for her, and made him avoid her society, either because he feared the magic arts of his wife, or else from a religious scruple, because his place was more worthily filled. Another version of this story is that the women of Macedonia have been from very ancient times subject to the Orphic and Bacchic frenzy (whence they were called Clodones and Mimallones), and perform the same rites as do the Edonians and the Thracian women about Mount Haemus, from which the word "threskeuein" has come to mean "to be over-superstitious." Olympias, it is said, celebrated these rites with exceeding fervour, and in imitation of the Orientals, and to introduce into the festal procession large tame serpents,* which struck terror into the men as they glided through the ivy wreaths and mystic baskets which the women carried on their heads.

III. We are told that Philip after this portent sent Chairon of Megalopolis to Delphi, to consult the god there, and that he delivered an oracular response bidding him sacrifice to Zeus Ammon, and to pay especial reverence to that god: warning him, moreover, that he would some day lose the sight of that eye with which, through the chink of the half-opened door, he had seen the god consorting with his wife in the form of a serpent. The historian Eratosthenes informs us that when Alexander was about to set out on his great expedition, Olympias told him the secret of his birth, and bade him act worthily of his divine parentage. Other writers say that she scrupled to mention the subject, and was heard to say "Why does Alexander make Hera jealous of me?"

Alexander was born on the sixth day of the month

* On the subject of serpent worship, see in Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' art.: 'Serpent,' and 'Brazen Serpent.'

Hekatombæon,* which the Macedonians call Lous, the same day on which the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was burned. This coincidence inspired Hegesias of Magnesia to construct a ponderous joke, dull enough to have put out the fire, which was, that it was no wonder that the temple of Artemis was burned, since she was away from it, attending to the birth of Alexander.†

All the Persian magi who were in Ephesus at the time imagined that the destruction of the temple was but the forerunner of a greater disaster, and ran through the city beating their faces and shouting that on that day was born the destroyer of Asia. Philip, who had just captured the city of Potidæa, received at that time three messengers. The first announced that the Illyrians had been severely defeated by Parmenio; the second that his racehorse had won a victory at Olympia, and the third, that Alexander was born. As one may well believe, he was delighted at such good news and was yet more overjoyed when the soothsayers told him that his son, whose birth coincided with three victories, would surely prove invincible.

IV. His personal appearance is best shown by the statues of Lysippus, the only artist whom he allowed to represent him; in whose works we can clearly trace that slight droop of his head towards the left, and that keen glance of his eyes which formed his chief characteristics, and which were afterwards imitated by his friends and successors.

Apelles, in his celebrated picture of Alexander wielding a thunderbolt, has not exactly copied the fresh tint of his flesh, but has made it darker and swarthier than it was, for we are told that his skin was remarkably fair, inclining to red about the face and breast. We learn from the memoirs of Aristoxenes, that his body diffused a rich perfume, which scented his clothes, and that his breath was remarkably sweet. This was possibly caused by the hot and fiery constitution of his body; for sweet scents are produced, according to Theophrastus, by heat acting upon moisture. For this reason the hottest and driest

* The Greek month Hekatombæon answers to the last half of our July and the first half of August.

† Cf. Horace, *Carm.* iii. 22.

regions of the earth produce the most aromatic perfumes, because the sun dries up that moisture which causes most substances to decay.

Alexander's warm temperament of body seems to have rendered him fond of drinking, and fiery in disposition. As a youth he showed great power of self-control, by abstaining from all sensual pleasures in spite of his vehement and passionate nature; while his intense desire for fame rendered him serious and highminded beyond his years.

For many kinds of glory, however, Alexander cared little; unlike his father Philip, who prided himself on his oratorical powers, and used to record his victories in the chariot races at Olympia upon his coins. Indeed, when Alexander's friends, to try him, asked him whether he would contend in the foot race at Olympia, for he was a remarkably swift runner, he answered, "Yes, if I have kings to contend with." He seems to have been altogether indifferent to athletic exercises; for though he gave more prizes than any one else to be contended for by dramatists, flute players, harp players, and even by rhapsodists,* and though he delighted in all manner of hunting and cudgel playing, he never seems to have taken any interest in the contests of boxing or the pankratium.†

When ambassadors from the King of Persia arrived in Macedonia, Philip was absent, and Alexander entertained them. His engaging manners greatly charmed them, and he became their intimate friend. He never put any childish questions to them, but made many enquiries about the length of the journey from the sea coast to the interior of Persia, about the roads which led thither, about the king, whether he was experienced in war or not, and about the resources and military strength of the Persian empire, so that the ambassadors were filled with admira-

* Reciters of epic poems, the cantos of which were called 'rhapsodies.'

† The same indifference to athletic sports, as practised in Greece, is mentioned in the Life of Philopœmen. The pankratium is sometimes called the pentathlum, and consisted of five contests, the foot-race, leaping, throwing the quoit, hurling the javelin, and wrestling. No one received the prize unless he was winner in all. In earlier times boxing was part of the pentathlum, but hurling the javelin was afterwards substituted for it.

tion, and declared that the boasted subtlety of Philip was nothing in comparison with the intellectual vigour and enlarged views of his son. Whenever he heard of Philip's having taken some city or won some famous victory, he used to look unhappy at the news, and would say to his friends, "Boys, my father will forestall us in everything; he will leave no great exploits for you and me to achieve." Indeed, he cared nothing for pleasure or wealth, but only for honour and glory; and he imagined that the more territory he inherited from his father, the less would be left for him to conquer. He feared that his father's conquests would be so complete, as to leave him no more battles to fight, and he wished to succeed, not to a wealthy and luxurious, but to a military empire, at the head of which he might gratify his desire for war and adventure.

His education was superintended by many nurses, pedagogues, and teachers, the chief of whom was Leonidas, a harsh-tempered man, who was nearly related to Olympias. He did not object to the title of pedagogue,* thinking that his duties are most valuable and honourable, but, on account of his high character and relationship to Alexander, was generally given the title of tutor by the others. The name and office of pedagogue was claimed by one Lysimachus, an Akarnanian by birth, and a dull man, but who gained the favour of Alexander by addressing him as Achilles, calling himself Phoenix, and Philip, Peleus.

VI. When Philoneikus the Thessalian brought the horse Boukephalus† and offerered it to Philip for the sum of thirteen talents, the king and his friends proceeded to some level ground to try the horse's paces. They found that he was very savage and unmanageable, for he allowed no one to mount him, and paid no attention to any man's voice, but refused to allow any one to approach

* In Greek, this word is properly applied to the slave whose duty it was to attend a boy to and from school, and generally to keep him out of mischief. He was not supposed to teach him.

† The literal meaning of this word is "bull's head." It is conjectured that this refers to the mark with which the horse was branded, not to his appearance.

him. On this Philip became angry, and bade them take the vicious intractable brute away. Alexander, who was present, said, "What a fine horse they are ruining because they are too ignorant and cowardly to manage him." Philip at first was silent, but when Alexander repeated this remark several times, and seemed greatly distressed, he said, "Do you blame your elders, as if you knew more than they, or were better able to manage a horse?" "This horse, at any rate," answered Alexander, "I could manage better than any one else." "And if you cannot manage him," retorted his father, "what penalty will you pay for your forwardness?" "I will pay," said Alexander, "the price of the horse."

While the others were laughing and settling the terms of the wager, Alexander ran straight up to the horse, took him by the bridle, and turned him to the sun; as it seems he had noticed that the horse's shadow dancing before his eyes alarmed him and made him restive. He then spoke gently to the horse, and patted him on the back with his hand, until he perceived that he no longer snorted so wildly, when, dropping his cloak, he lightly leaped upon his back. He now steadily reined him in, without violence or blows, and as he saw that the horse was no longer ill-tempered, but only eager to gallop, he let him go, boldly urging him to full speed with his voice and heel.

Philip and his friends were at first silent with terror; but when he wheeled the horse round, and rode up to them exulting in his success, they burst into a loud shout. It is said that his father wept for joy, and, when he dismounted, kissed him, saying, "My son, seek for a kingdom worthy of yourself: for Macedonia will not hold you."

VII. Philip, seeing that his son was easily led, but could not be made to do anything by force, used always to manage him by persuasion, and never gave him orders. As he did not altogether care to entrust his education to the teachers whom he had obtained, but thought that it would be too difficult a task for them, since Alexander required, as Sophokles says of a ship:

"Stout ropes to check him, and stout oars to guide."

he sent for Aristotle, the most renowned philosopher of the age, to be his son's tutor, and paid him a handsome reward for doing so. He had captured and destroyed Aristotle's native city of Stageira; but now he rebuilt it, and repeopled it, ransoming the citizens, who had been sold for slaves, and bringing back those who were living in exile. For Alexander and Aristotle he appointed the temple and grove of the nymphs, near the city of Mieza, as a school-house and dwelling; and there to this day are shown the stone seat where Aristotle sat, and the shady avenues where he used to walk. It is thought that Alexander was taught by him not only his doctrines of Morals and Politics, but also those more abstruse mysteries which are only communicated orally and are kept concealed from the vulgar: for after he had invaded Asia, hearing that Aristotle had published some treatises on these subjects, he wrote him a letter in which he defended the practice of keeping these speculations secret in the following words:—

“Alexander to Aristotle wishes health. You have not done well in publishing abroad those sciences which should only be taught by word of mouth. For how shall we be distinguished from other men, if the knowledge which we have acquired be made the common property of all? I myself had rather excel others in excellency of learning than in greatness of power. Farewell.”

To pacify him, Aristotle wrote in reply that these doctrines were published, and yet not published: meaning that his treatise on Metaphysics was only written for those who had been instructed in philosophy by himself, and would be quite useless in other hands.

VIII. I think also that Aristotle more than any one else implanted a love of medicine in Alexander, who was not only fond of discussing the theory, but used to prescribe for his friends when they were sick, and order them to follow special courses of treatment and diet, as we gather from his letters. He was likewise fond of literature and of reading, and we are told by Onesikritus that he was wont to call the Iliad a complete manual of the military art, and that he always carried with him Aristotle's recension of Homer's poems, which is called ‘the casket

copy,' and placed it under his pillow together with his dagger. Being without books when in the interior of Asia, he ordered Harpalus to send him some. Harpalus sent him the histories of Philistus, several plays of Euripides, Sophokles, and Æschylus, and the dithyrambic hymns of Telestus and Philoxenus.

Alexander when a youth used to love and admire Aristotle more even than his father, for he said that the latter had enabled him to live, but that the former had taught him to live well. He afterwards suspected him somewhat; yet he never did him any injury, but only was not so friendly with him as he had been, whereby it was observed that he no longer bore him the good-will he was wont to do. Notwithstanding this, he never lost that interest in philosophical speculation which he had acquired in his youth, as it proved by the honours which he paid to Anaxarchus, the fifty talents which he sent as a present to Xenokrates, and the protection and encouragement which he gave to Dandamis and Kalanus.

IX. When Philip was besieging Byzantium he left to Alexander, who was then only sixteen years old, the sole charge of the administration of the kingdom of Macedonia, confirming his authority by entrusting to him his own signet.* He defeated and subdued the Mædian† rebels, took their city, ejected its barbarian inhabitants, and reconstituted it as a Grecian colony, to which he gave the name of Alexandropolis.

He was present at the battle against the Greeks at Chæronea, and it is said to have been the first to charge the Sacred Band of the Thebans. Even in my own time, an old oak tree used to be pointed out, near the river Kephissus,‡ which was called Alexander's oak, because his tent was pitched beside it. It stands not far from the place where the Macedonian corpses were buried after the battle. Philip, as we may imagine, was overjoyed at

* I believe that the seal here mentioned was Philip's own, and in no sense the "great seal of the kingdom," although Strabo speaks of the public seal of a state.

† A tribe in the eastern part of Macedonia.

‡ Near Chæronea.

these proofs of his son's courage and skill, and nothing pleased him more than to hear the Macedonians call Alexander their king, and himself their general. Soon, however, the domestic dissensions produced by Philip's amours and marriages caused an estrangement between them, and the breach was widened by Olympias, a jealous and revengeful woman, who incensed Alexander against his father. But what especially moved Alexander was the conduct of Attalus at the marriage feast of his niece Kleopatra. Philip, who was now too old for marriage, had become enamoured of this girl, and after the wedding, Attalus in his cups called upon the Macedonians to pray to the gods that from the union of Philip and Kleopatra might be born a legitimate heir to the throne.

Enraged at these words, Alexander exclaimed, "You villain, am I then a bastard?" and threw a drinking cup at him. Philip, seeing this, rose and drew his sword to attack Alexander; but fortunately for both he was so excited by drink and rage that he missed his footing and fell headlong to the ground. Hereupon Alexander mocking him observed, "This is the man who was preparing to cross from Europe to Asia, and has been overthrown in passing from one couch * to another."

After this disgraceful scene, Alexander, with his mother Olympias, retired into Epirus, where he left her, and proceeded to the country of the Illyrians. About the same time Demaratus of Corinth, an old friend of the family, and privileged to speak his mind freely, came on a visit to Philip. After the first greetings were over, Philip enquired whether the states of Greece agreed well together. "Truly, King Philip," answered Demaratus, "it well becomes you to show an interest in the agreement of the Greeks, after you have raised such violent quarrels in your own family."

These words had such an effect upon Philip that Demaratus was able to prevail upon him to make his peace with Alexander and to induce him to return.

X. Yet when Pixodarus, the satrap of Karia, hoping to

* It must be remembered that the ancients, although they possessed shairs, always ate and drank reclining upon couches.

connect himself with Philip, and so to obtain him as an ally, offered his eldest daughter in marriage to Arrhidæus, Philip's natural son, and sent Aristokrites to Macedonia to conduct the negotiations, Olympias and her friends again exasperated Alexander against his father by pointing out to him that Philip, by arranging this splendid marriage for Arrhidæus, and treating him as a person of such great importance, was endeavouring to accustom the Macedonians to regard him as the heir to the throne. Alexander yielded to these representations so far as to send Thessalus, the tragic actor, on a special mission to Pixodarus in Karia, to assure him that he ought to disregard Arrhidæus, who was illegitimate, and foolish to boot, and that it was to Alexander that he ought to offer the hand of his daughter.

Pixodarus was much more eager to accept this proposal than the former, but Philip one day hearing that Alexander was alone in his chamber, went thither with Philotas, the son of Parmenio, an intimate friend, and bitterly reproached him, pointing out how unworthy it was of his high birth and glorious position to stoop to marry the daughter of a mere Karian,* and of a barbarian who was a subject of the King of Persia.

Upon this he wrote to the Corinthians to send him Thessalus in chains, and also banished out of his kingdom Harpalus, Nearchus, Erigyius, and Ptolemæus, all of whom Alexander afterwards brought back and promoted to great honours.

Shortly after this, Pausanias was grossly insulted by the contrivance of Attalus and Kleopatra, and, as he could not obtain amends for what he suffered, assassinated Philip. We are told that most men laid the blame of this murder upon Queen Olympias, who found the young man smarting from the outrage which had been committed upon him, and urged him to avenge himself, while some accused Alexander himself. It is said that when Pausanias came to him and complained of his treatment, Alexander answered him by quoting the line from the *Medea* of

* The Karians, ever since the siege of Troy, were regarded by the Greeks with the greatest contempt. Cf. II. ix. 378.

Euripides, in which she declares that she will be revenged upon

“The guardian, and the bridegroom, and the bride,”

alluding to Attalus, Philip, and Kleopatra.

However this may be, it is certain that he sought out and punished all who were concerned in the plot, and he expressed his sorrow on discovering that during his own absence from the kingdom, Kleopatra had been cruelly tortured and put to death by his mother Olympias.

XI. At the age of twenty he succeeded to the throne of Macedonia, a perilous and unenviable inheritance: for the neighbouring barbarian tribes chafed at being held in bondage, and longed for the rule of their own native kings; while Philip, although he had conquered Greece by force of arms, yet had not had time to settle its government and accustom it to its new position. He had overthrown all constituted authority in that country, and had left men's minds in an excited condition, eager for fresh changes and revolutions. The Macedonians were very sensible of the dangerous crisis through which they were passing, and hoped that Alexander would refrain as far as possible from interfering in the affairs of Greece, deal gently with the insurgent chiefs of his barbarian subjects, and carefully guard against revolutionary outbreaks. He, however, took quite a different view of the situation, conceiving it to be best to win safety by audacity, and carrying things with a high hand, thinking that if he showed the least sign of weakness, his enemies would all set upon him at once. He crushed the risings of the barbarians by promptly marching through their country as far as the river Danube, and by winning a signal victory over Syrmus, the King of the Triballi. After this, as he heard that the Thebans had revolted, and that the Athenians sympathised with them, he marched his army straight through Thermopylae, with the remark that Demosthenes, who had called him a boy while he was fighting the Illyrians and Triballi, and a youth while he was marching through Thessaly, should find him a man when he saw him before the gates of Athens. When he reached Thebes, he gave the citizens

an opportunity to repent of their conduct, only demanding Phoenix and Prothytes to be given up to him, and offering the rest a free pardon if they would join him. When, however, the Thebans in answer to this, demanded that he should give up Philotas and Antipater to them, and called upon all who were willing to assist in the liberation of Greece to come and join them, he bade his Macedonians prepare for battle.

The Thebans, although greatly outnumbered, fought with superhuman valour; but they were taken in the rear by the Macedonian garrison, who suddenly made a sally from the Kadmeia, and the greater part of them were surrounded and fell fighting. The city was captured, plundered and destroyed. Alexander hoped by this terrible example to strike terror into the other Grecian states, although he put forward the specious pretext that he was avenging the wrongs of his allies; for the Plateans and Phokians had made some complaints of the conduct of the Thebans towards them. With the exception of the priests, the personal friends and guests of the Macedonians, the descendants of the poet Pindar, and those who had opposed the revolt, he sold for slaves all the rest of the inhabitants, thirty thousand in number. More than six thousand men perished in the battle.

XII. Amidst the fearful scene of misery and disorder which followed the capture of the city, certain Thracians broke into the house of one Timoklea, a lady of noble birth and irreproachable character. Their leader forcibly violated her, and then demanded whether she had any gold or silver concealed. She said that she had, led him alone into the garden, and, pointing to a well, told him that when the city was taken she threw her most valuable jewels into it. While the Thracian was stooping over the well trying to see down to the bottom, she came behind, pushed him in, and threw large stones upon him until he died. The Thracians seized her, and took her to Alexander, where she proved herself a woman of courage by her noble and fearless carriage, as she walked in the midst of her savage captors. The king enquired who she was, to which she replied she was the sister of Theagenes, who fought against Philip to protect the liberty of Greece, and who fell leading on the Thebans

at Chæronea. Alexander, struck by her answer, and admiring her exploit, gave orders that she and her children should be set at liberty.

XIII. Alexander came to terms with the Athenians, although they had expressed the warmest sympathy for the Thebans, omitting the performance of the festival of Demeter, out of respect for their misfortunes, and giving a kindly welcome to all the fugitives who reached Athens. Either he had had his fill of anger, like a sated lion, or possibly he wished to perform some signal act of mercy by way of contrast to his savage treatment of Thebes. Be this as it may, he not only informed the Athenians that he had no grounds of quarrel with them, but even went so far as to advise them to watch the course of events with care, since, if anything should happen to him, they might again become the ruling state in Greece. In after times, Alexander often grieved over his harsh treatment of the Thebans, and the recollection of what he had done made him much less severe to others. Indeed, he always referred his unfortunate drunken quarrel with Kleitus, and the refusal of the Macedonian soldiers to invade India, by which they rendered the glory of his great expedition incomplete, to the anger of Dionysius,* who desired to avenge the fate of his favourite city. Moreover, of the Thebans who survived the ruin of their city, no one ever asked any favour of Alexander without its being granted. This was the manner in which Alexander dealt with Thebes.

XIV. The Greeks after this assembled at Corinth and agreed to invade Persia with Alexander for their leader. Many of their chief statesmen and philosophers paid him visits of congratulation, and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope, who was at that time living at Corinth, would do so. As he, however, paid no attention whatever to Alexander and remained quietly in the suburb called Kraneium, Alexander himself went to visit him. He found him lying at full length, basking in the sun. At the approach of so many people, he sat up, and looked at Alexander. Alexander greeted him, and enquired whether he could do anything for him. "Yes," answered

* Bacchus. Compare the Bacchæ of Euripides, *passim*.

Diogenes, "you can stand a little on one side, and not keep the sun off me." This answer is said to have so greatly surprised Alexander, and to have filled him with such a feeling of admiration for the greatness of mind of a man who could treat him with such insolent superiority, that when he went away, while all around were jeering and scoffing he said, "Say what you will; if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes."

Desiring to consult the oracle of Apollo concerning his campaign, he now proceeded to Delphi. It chanced that he arrived there on one of the days which are called unfortunate, on which no oracular responses can be obtained. In spite of this he at once sent for the chief priestess, and as she refused to officiate and urged that she was forbidden to do so by the law, he entered the temple by force and dragged her to the prophetic tripod. She, yielding to his persistence, said, "You are irresistible, my son." Alexander, at once, on hearing this, declared that he did not wish for any further prophecy, but that he had obtained from her the response which he wished for. While he was preparing for his expedition, among many other portents, the statue of Orpheus at Loibethra, which is made of cypress-wood, was observed to be covered with sweat. All were alarmed at this omen, but Aristander bade them take courage, as it portended that Alexander should perform many famous acts, which would cause poets much trouble to record.

XV. The number of his army is variously stated by different authorities, some saying that it amounted to thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse, while others put the whole amount so high as forty-three thousand foot and five thousand horse. To provide for this multitude, Aristobulus relates that he possessed only seventy talents, while Douris informs us that he had only provisions for thirty days, and Onesikritus declares that he was in debt to the amount of two hundred talents. Yet although he started with such slender resources, before he embarked he carefully enquired into the affairs of his friends, and made them all ample presents, assigning to some of them large tracts of land, and to others villages, the rents of houses, or the right of levying harbour dues. When he

had almost expended the whole of the revenues of the crown in this fashion, Perdikkas enquired of him, "My king, what have you reserved for yourself?" "My hopes," replied Alexander. "Then," said Perdikkas, "are we who go with you not to share them?" and he at once refused to accept the present which had been offered to him, as did several others. Those, however, who would receive his gifts, or who asked for anything, were rewarded with a lavish hand, so that he distributed among them nearly all the revenues of Macedonia; so confident of success was he when he set out. When he had crossed the Hellespont he proceeded to Troy, offered sacrifice to Athena, and poured libations to the heroes who fell there. He anointed the column which marks the tomb of Achilles with fresh oil, and after running round it naked with his friends, as is customary, placed a garland upon it, observing that Achilles was fortunate in having a faithful friend while he lived, and a glorious poet to sing of his deeds after his death. While he was walking through the city and looking at all the notable things, he was asked whether he wished to see the harp which had once belonged to Paris. He answered, that he cared nothing for it, but that he wished to find that upon which Achilles used to play when he sang of the deeds of heroes.

XVI. Meanwhile the generals of Darius had collected a large army, and posted it at the passage of the river Granikus, so that it was necessary for Alexander to fight a battle in order to effect so much as an entrance into Asia. Most of the Greek generals were alarmed at the depth and uneven bed of the river, and at the rugged and broken ground on the farther bank, which they would have to mount in the face of the enemy. Some also raised a religious scruple, averring that the Macedonian kings never made war during the month Daisius. Alexander said that this could be easily remedied, and ordered that the second month in the Macedonian calendar should henceforth be called Artemisium. When Parmenio besought him not to risk a battle, as the season was far advanced, he said that the Hellespont would blush for shame if he crossed it, and then feared to cross the Granikus, and at once plunged into the stream with

thirteen squadrons of cavalry. It seemed the act of a desperate madman rather than of a general to ride thus through a rapid river, under a storm of missiles, towards a steep bank where every position of advantage was occupied by armed men. He, however, gained the farther shore, and made good his footing there, although with great difficulty on account of the slippery mud. As soon as he had crossed, and driven away those who had opposed his passage, he was charged by a mass of the enemy, and forced to fight, pell-mell, man to man, before he could put those who had followed him over into battle array. The enemy came on with a shout, and rode straight up to the horses of the Macedonians, thrusting at them with spears, and using swords when their spears were broken. Many of them pressed round Alexander himself, who was made a conspicuous figure by his shield and the long white plume which hung down on each side of his helmet. He was struck by a javelin in the joint of his corslet, but received no hurt. Rhœsakes and Spithridates, two of the Persian generals, now attacked him at once. He avoided the charge of the latter, but broke his spear against the breastplate of Rhœsakes, and was forced to betake him to his sword. No sooner had they closed together than Spithridates rode up beside him, and, standing up in his stirrups, dealt him such a blow with a battle-axe, as cut off one side of his plume, and pierced his helmet just so far as to reach his hair with the edge of the axe. While Spithridates was preparing for another blow, he was run through by black Kleitus with a lance, and at the same moment Alexander with his sword laid Rhœsakes dead at his feet. During this fierce and perilous cavalry battle, the Macedonian phalanx * crossed the river, and engaged the enemy's infantry force, none of which offered much resistance except a body of mercenary Greeks in the pay of Persia. These troops retired to a small rising ground, and begged for quarter. Alexander, however, furiously attacked them by riding up to them by himself, in front of his men.

He lost his horse, which was killed by a sword-thrust,

* For a description of the Macedonian phalanx see life of Titus Flaminius, ch. viii., note.

and it is said that more of the Macedonians perished in that fight, and that more wounds were given and received, than in all the rest of the battle, as they were attacking desperate men accustomed to war.

The Persians are said to have lost twenty thousand infantry, and two thousand five hundred cavalry. In the army of Alexander, Aristobulus states the total loss to have been thirty-four men, nine of whom were foot soldiers. Alexander ordered that each of these men should have his statue made in bronze by Lysippus; and wishing to make the Greeks generally partakers of his victory, he sent the Athenians three hundred captured shields, and on the other spoils placed the following vain-glorious inscription: * "Alexander, the son of Philip, and the Greeks, all but the Lacedæmonians, won these spoils from the barbarians of Asia." As for the golden drinking-cups, purple hangings, and other plunder of that sort, he sent it nearly all to his mother, reserving only a few things for himself.

XVII. This victory wrought a great change in Alexander's position. Several of the neighbouring states came and made their submission to him, and even Sardis itself, the chief town in Lydia, and the main station of the Persians in Asia Minor, submitted without a blow. The only cities which still resisted him, Halikarnassus and Miletus, he took by storm, and conquered all the adjacent territory, after which he remained in doubt as to what to attempt next; whether to attack Darius at once and risk all that he had won upon the issue of a single battle, or to consolidate and organise his conquests on the coast of Asia Minor, and to gather new strength for the final struggle. It is said that at this time a spring in the country of Lykia, near the city of Xanthus, overflowed, and threw up from its depths a brazen tablet, upon which, in ancient characters, was inscribed a prophecy that the Persian empire should be destroyed by the Greeks. Encouraged by this portent, he extended his conquests along the sea coast as far as Phœnicia and Kilikia. Many

* This inscription was no doubt written over such spoils as were placed in the Greek temples. Compare Virgil's "*Æneas hæc de Danaïs victoribus arma.*"

historians dwelt with admiration on the good fortune of Alexander, in meeting with such fair weather and such a smooth sea during his passage along the stormy shore of Pamphylia, and say that it was a miracle that the furious sea, which usually dashed against the highest rocks upon the cliffs, fell calm for him. Menander alludes to this in one of his plays.

"Like Alexander, if I wish to meet
A man, at once I find him in the street;
And, were I forced to journey o'er the sea,
The sea itself would calm its waves for me."

Alexander himself, however, in his letters, speaks of no such miracle, but merely tells us that he started from Phaselis, and passed along the difficult road called Klimax, or the Ladder.* He spent some time in Phaselis, and while he was there, observing in the market-place a statue of Theodektes, a philosopher, who had recently died, he made a procession to it one day after dinner, and crowned it with flowers, as a sportive recognition of what he owed to Theodektes, with whose philosophical writings Aristotle had made him familiar.

XVIII. After this he put down a revolt among the Pisidians, and conquered the whole of Phrygia. On his arrival at Gordium, which is said to have been the capital of King Midas of old, he was shown the celebrated chariot there, tied up with a knot of cornel-tree bark. Here he was told the legend, which all the natives believed, that whoever untied that knot was destined to become lord of all the world. Most historians say that as the knot was tied with a strap whose ends could not be found, and was very complicated and intricate, Alexander, despairing of untying it, drew his sword and cut through the knot, thus making many ends appear. But Aristobulus tells us that he easily undid it by pulling out of the pole the

* When the wind blew from the south, this road was covered by such a depth of water as to be impracticable: for some time before he reached the spot the wind had blown strong from the south—but as he came near, the special providence of the gods (so he and his friends conceived it) brought on a change of wind to the north, so that the sea receded and left an available passage, though his soldiers had the water up to their waists. Grote's History of Greece, Part II. ch. xxi.

pin to which the strap was fastened, and then drawing off the yoke itself from the pole.

He now prevailed upon the people of Paphlagonia and Kappadokia to join him, and also was encouraged in his design of proceeding farther into the interior by receiving intelligence of the death of Memnon, the general to whom Darius had entrusted the defence of the sea coast, who had already caused him much trouble, and had offered a most stubborn resistance to him. Darius, too, came from Susa, confident in the numbers of his army, for he was at the head of six hundred thousand men, and greatly encouraged by a dream upon which the Magi had put rather a strained interpretation in order to please him. He dreamed that he saw the Macedonian phalanx begirt with flame, and that Alexander, dressed in a courier's cloak like that which he himself had worn before he became king, was acting as his servant. Afterwards, Alexander went into the temple of Belus, and disappeared. By this vision the gods probably meant to foretell that the deeds of the Macedonians would be brilliant and glorious, and that Alexander after conquering Asia, just as Darius had conquered it when from a mere courier he rose to be a king, would die young and famous.

XIX. Darius was also much encouraged by the long inaction of Alexander in Kilikia. This was caused by an illness, which some say arose from the hardships which he had undergone, and others tell us was the result of bathing in the icy waters of the Kydnus. No physician dared to attend him, for they all thought that he was past the reach of medicine, and dreaded the anger of the Macedonians if they proved unsuccessful. At last Philip, an Akarnanian, seeing that he was dangerously ill, determined to run the risk, as he was his true friend, and thought it his duty to share all his dangers. He compounded a draught for him, and persuaded him to drink it, by telling him that it would give him strength and enable him to take the field. At this time Parmenio sent him a letter from the camp, bidding him beware of Philip, who had been bribed to poison him by Darius with rich presents, and the offer of his own daughter in marriage. Alexander read the letter, and showed it to no one, but

placed it under his pillow. At the appointed hour, Philip and his friends entered the room, bringing the medicine in a cup. Alexander took the cup from him, and gave him the letter to read, while he firmly and cheerfully drank it off. It was a strange and theatrical scene. When the one had read, and the other had drunk, they stared into each other's faces, Alexander with a cheerful expression of trust and kindly feeling towards Philip, while Philip, enraged at the calumny, first raised his hands to heaven, protesting his innocence, and then, casting himself upon his knees at the bed-side, besought Alexander to be of good cheer and follow his advice. The effect of the drug at first was to produce extreme weakness, for he became speechless and almost insensible. In a short time, however, by Philip's care, he recovered his strength, and showed himself publicly to the Macedonians, who were very anxious about him, and would not believe that he was better until they saw him.

XX. There was in the camp of Darius a Macedonian refugee, named Amyntas, who was well acquainted with Alexander's character. This man, when he found that Darius wished to enter the hilly country to fight Alexander amongst its narrow valleys, besought him to remain where he was, upon the flat open plains, where the enormous numbers of his troops could be advantageously used against the small Macedonian army. When Darius answered that he feared Alexander and his men would escape unless he attacked, Amyntas said, "O king, have no fears on that score; for he will come and fight you, and I warrant he is not far off now." However, Amyntas made no impression on Darius, who marched forward into Kilikia, while at the same time Alexander marched into Syria to meet him. During the night they missed one another, and each turned back, Alexander rejoicing at this incident, and hurrying to catch Darius in the narrow defile leading into Kilikia, while Darius was glad of the opportunity of recovering his former ground, and of disentangling his army from the harrow passes through the mountains. He already had perceived the mistake which he had committed in entering a country where the sea, the mountains, and the river Pyramus which ran between them, made it impossible for

his army to act, while on the other hand it afforded great advantages to his enemies, who were mostly foot soldiers, and whose numbers were not so great as to encumber their movements.

Fortune, no doubt, greatly favoured Alexander, but yet he owed much of his success to his excellent generalship ; for although enormously outnumbered by the enemy, he not only avoided being surrounded by them, but was able to outflank their left with his own right wing, and by this manœuvre completely defeated the Persians. He himself fought among the foremost, and, according to Chares, was wounded in the thigh by Darius himself. Alexander in the account of the battle which he despatched to Antipater, does not mention the name of the man who wounded him, but states that he received a stab in the thigh with a dagger, and that the wound was not a dangerous one.

He won a most decisive victory, and slew more than a hundred thousand of the enemy, but could not come up with Darius himself, as he gained a start of nearly a mile. He captured his chariot, however, and his bow and arrows, and on his return found the Macedonians revelling in the rich plunder which they had won, although the Persians had been in light marching order, and had left most of their heavy baggage at Damascus. The royal pavilion of Darius himself, full of beautiful slaves, and rich furniture of every description, had been left unplundered, and was reserved for Alexander himself, who as soon as he had taken off his armour, proceeded to the bath, saying "Let me wash off the sweat of the battle in the bath of Darius." "Nay," answered one of his companions, "in that of Alexander; for the goods of the vanquished become the property of the victor." When he entered the bath and saw that all the vessels for water, the bath itself, and the boxes of unguents were of pure gold, and smelt the delicious scent of the rich perfumes with which the whole pavilion was filled; and when he passed from the bath into a magnificent and lofty saloon where a splendid banquet was prepared, he looked at his friends and said "This, then, it is to be a king indeed."

XXI. While he was dining it was told him that the mother and wife of Darius, and his two daughters, who were among the captives, had seen the chariot and bow of Darius, and were mourning for him, imagining him to be dead. Alexander when he heard this paused for a long time, being more affected by the grief of these ladies, than by the victory which he had won. He sent Leonatus to inform them, that they need neither mourn for Darius, nor fear Alexander; for he was fighting for the empire of Asia, not as a personal enemy of Darius, and would take care that they were treated with the same honour and respect as before. This generous message to the captive princesses was followed by acts of still greater kindness; for he permitted them to bury whomsoever of the slain Persians they wished, and to use all their own apparel and furniture, which had been seized by the soldiers as plunder. He also allowed them to retain the regal title and state, and even increased their revenues. But the noblest and most truly royal part of his treatment of these captive ladies was that he never permitted them to hear any coarse language, or imagine for a moment that they were likely to suffer violence or outrage; so that they lived unseen and unmolested, more as though they were in some sacred retreat of holy virgins than in a camp. Yet the wife of Darius is said to have been the most beautiful princess of her age, just as Darius himself was the tallest and handsomest man in Asia, and their daughters are said to have resembled their parents in beauty. Alexander, it seems, thought it more kingly to restrain himself than to conquer the enemy, and never touched any of them, nor did he know any other before his marriage, except Barsine. This lady, after the death of her husband Memnon, remained at Damascus. She had received a Greek education, was naturally attractive, and was of royal descent, as her father was Artabazus, who married one of the king's daughters; which, added to the solicitations of Parmenio, as we are told by Aristobulus, made Alexander the more willing to attach himself to so beautiful and well-born a lady. When Alexander saw the beauty of the other captives, he said in jest, that the Persian ladies make

men's eyes sore to behold them. Yet, in spite of their attractions, he was determined that his self-restraint should be as much admired as their beauty, and passed by them as if they had been images cut out of stone.

XXII. Indeed, when Philoxenus, the commander of his fleet, wrote to inform him that a slave merchant of Tarentum, named Theodorus, had two beautiful slaves for sale, and desired to know whether he would buy them, Alexander was greatly incensed, and angrily demanded of his friends what signs of baseness Philoxenus could have observed in him that he should venture to make such disgraceful proposals to him. He sent a severe reprimand to Philoxenus, and ordered him to send Theodorus and his merchandise to the devil. He also severely rebuked a young man named Hagnon for a similar offence.

On another occasion, when he heard that two Macedonians of Parmenio's regiment, named Damon and Timotheus, had violently outraged the wives of some of the mercenary soldiers, he wrote to Parmenio, ordering him, if the charge were proved, to put them to death like mere brute beasts that prey upon mankind. And in that letter he wrote thus of himself. "I have never seen, or desired to see the wife of Darius, and have not even allowed her beauty to be spoken of in my presence."

He was wont to say that he was chiefly reminded that he was mortal by these two weaknesses, sleep and lust; thinking weariness and sensuality alike to be bodily weaknesses. He was also most temperate in eating, as was signally proved by his answer to the princess Ada, whom he adopted as his mother, and made Queen of Karia. She, in order to show her fondness for him, sent him every day many dainty dishes and sweetmeats, and at last presented him with her best cooks. He answered her that he needed them not, since he had been provided with much better relishes for his food by his tutor Leonidas, who had taught him to earn his breakfast by a night-march, and to obtain an appetite for his dinner by eating sparingly at breakfast. "My tutor," he said, "would often look into my chests of clothes, and of bedding, to make sure that my mother had not hidden any delicacies for me in them."

XXIII. He was less given to wine than he was commonly supposed to be. He was thought to be a great drinker because of the length of time which he would pass over each cup, in talking more than in drinking it, for he always held a long conversation while drinking, provided he was at leisure to do so. If anything had to be done, no wine, or desire of rest, no amusement, marriage, or spectacle could restrain him, as they did other generals. This is clearly shown by the shortness of his life, and the wonderful number of great deeds which he performed during the little time that he lived. When he was at leisure, he used to sacrifice to the gods immediately after rising in the morning, and then sit down to his breakfast. After breakfast, he would pass the day in hunting, deciding disputes between his subjects, devising military manœuvres, or reading. When on a journey, if he was not in any great hurry, he used, while on the road, to practice archery, or to dismount from a chariot which was being driven at full speed, and then again mount it. Frequently also he hunted foxes and shot birds for amusement, as we learn from his diaries. On arriving at the place where he intended to pass the night, he always bathed, and anointed himself, and then asked his cooks what was being prepared for his dinner.

He always dined late, just as it began to grow dark, and was very careful to have his table well provided, and to give each of his guests an equal share. He sat long over his wine, as we have said, because of his love of conversation. And although at all other times his society was most charming, and his manners gracious and pleasant beyond any other prince of his age, yet when he was drinking, his talk ran entirely upon military topics, and became offensively boastful, partly from his own natural disposition, and partly from the encouragement which he received from his flatterers. This often greatly embarrassed honest men, as they neither wished to vie with the flatterers in praising him to his face, nor yet to appear to grudge him his due share of admiration. To bestow such excessive praise seemed shameful, while to withhold it was dangerous. After a drinking bout, he would take a bath, and often slept until late in the following day; and

sometimes he passed the whole day asleep. He cared but little for delicate food, and often when the rarest fruits and fish were sent to him from the sea-coast, he would distribute them so lavishly amongst his friends as to leave none for himself; yet his table was always magnificently served, and as his revenues became increased by his conquests, its expense rose to ten thousand drachmas a day. To this it was finally limited, and those who entertained Alexander were told that they must not expend more than that sum.

XXIV. After the battle of Issus, he sent troops to Damascus, and captured all the treasure, the baggage, and the women and children of the Persian army. Those who chiefly benefited by this were the Thessalian cavalry, who had distinguished themselves in the battle, and had been purposely chosen for this service by Alexander as a reward for their bravery; yet all the camp was filled with riches, so great was the mass of plunder. Then did the Macedonians get their first taste of gold and silver, of Persian luxury and of Persian women; and after this, like hounds opening upon a scent, they eagerly pressed forward on the track of the wealthy Persians. Alexander, however, thought it best, before proceeding further, to complete the conquest of the sea-coast. Cyprus was at once surrendered to him by its local kings, as was all Phoenicia, except Tyre. He besieged Tyre for seven months, with great mounds and siege artillery on the land side, while a fleet of two hundred triremes watched it by sea. During the seventh month of the siege he dreamed that Herakles greeted him in a friendly manner from the walls of Tyre, and called upon him to come in. Many of the Tyrians also dreamed that Apollo appeared to them, and said that he was going to Alexander, since what was being done in the city of Tyre did not please him. The Tyrians, upon this, treated the god as though he were a man caught in the act of deserting to Alexander, for they tied cords round his statue, nailed it down to its base, and called him Alexandristes, or follower of Alexander. Alexander now dreamed another dream, that a satyr appeared to him at a distance, and sported with him, but when he endeavoured to catch him, ran away, and that, at length, after much

trouble, he caught him. This was very plausibly explained by the prophets to mean "Sa Tyros"—"Tyre shall be thine," dividing the Greek word *Satyros* into two parts. A well is shown at the present day near which Alexander saw the satyr in his dream.

During the siege, Alexander made an expedition against the neighbouring Arab tribes, in which he fell into great danger through his old tutor Lysimachus, who insisted on accompanying him, declaring that he was no older and no less brave than Phoenix when he followed Achilles to Troy. When they reached the mountains, they were forced to leave their horses and march on foot. The rest proceeded on their way, but Lysimachus could not keep up, although night was coming on and the enemy were near. Alexander would not leave him, but encouraged him and helped him along until he became separated from his army, and found himself almost alone. It was now dark, and bitterly cold. The country where they were was very rugged and mountainous, and in the distance appeared many scattered watch-fires of the enemy.

Alexander, accustomed to rouse the disheartened Macedonians by his own personal exertions, and trusting to his swiftness of foot, ran up to the nearest fire, struck down with his sword two men who were watching beside it, and brought a burning firebrand back to his own party. They now made up an enormous fire, which terrified some of the enemy so much that they retreated, while others who had intended to attack them, halted and forbore to do so, thus enabling them to pass the night in safety.

XXV. The siege of Tyre came to an end in the following manner. The greater part of Alexander's troops were resting from their labours, but in order to occupy the attention of the enemy, he led a few men up to the city walls, while Aristander, the soothsayer, offered sacrifice. When he saw the victims, he boldly informed all who were present that during the current month, Tyre would be taken. All who heard him laughed him to scorn, as that day was the last of the month, but Alexander seeing him at his wits' end, being always eager to support the credit of prophecies, gave orders that that day should

not be reckoned as the thirtieth of the month, but as the twenty-third. After this he bade the trumpets sound, and assaulted the walls much more vigorously than he had originally intended. The attack succeeded, and as the rest of the army would no longer stay behind in the camp, but rushed to take their share in the assault, the Tyrians were overpowered, and their city taken on that very day.

Afterwards, while Alexander was besieging Gaza, the largest city in Syria, a clod of earth was dropped upon his shoulder by a bird, which afterwards alighted upon one of the military engines, and became entangled in the network of ropes by which it was worked. This portent also was truly explained by Aristander; for the place was taken, and Alexander was wounded in the shoulder.

He sent many of the spoils to Olympias, Kleopatra, and others of his friends, and sent his tutor Leonidas five hundred talents weight of frankincense, and a hundred talents of myrrh, to remind him of what he had said when a child. Leonidas once, when sacrificing, reproved Alexander for taking incense by handfuls to throw upon the victim when it was burning on the altar. "When," he said, "you have conquered the country from which incense comes, Alexander, then you may make such rich offerings as these; but at present you must use what we have sparingly." Alexander now wrote to him, "We have sent you abundance of frankincense and myrrh, that you may no longer treat the gods so stingily."

XXVI. When a certain casket was brought to him, which appeared to be the most valuable of all the treasures taken from Darius, he asked his friends what they thought he ought to keep in it as his own most precious possession. After they had suggested various different things, he said that he intended to keep his copy of the Iliad in it. This fact is mentioned by many historians; and if the legend which is current among the people of Alexandria, on the authority of Herakleides, be true, the poems of Homer were far from idle or useless companions to him, even when on a campaign. The story goes that after conquering Egypt, he desired to found a great and populous Grecian city, to be called after his own

name, and that after he had fixed upon an excellent site, where in the opinion of the best architects, a city surpassing anything previously existing could be built, he dreamed that a man with long hair and venerable aspect appeared to him, and recited the following verses:

“Hard by, an island in the stormy main
Lies close to Egypt, Pharos is its name.”

As soon as he woke, he proceeded to Pharos, which then was an island near the Canopic mouth of the Nile, though at the present day so much earth has been deposited by the river that it is joined to the mainland. When he saw the great advantages possessed by this place, which is a long strip of land, stretching between the sea and a large inland lake, with a large harbour at the end of it, he at once said that Homer, besides his other admirable qualities, was a splendid architect, and gave orders to his workmen to mark out a site for a city suitable to such a situation. There was no chalk or white earth, with which it is usual to mark the course of the walls, but they took barley-groats, and marked out a semicircular line with them upon the black earth, dividing it into equal segments by lines radiating from the centre, so that it looked like a Macedonian cloak, of which the walls formed the outer fringe. While the king was looking with satisfaction at the plan of the new city, suddenly from the lake and the river, innumerable aquatic birds of every kind flew like great clouds to the spot, and devoured all the barley. This omen greatly disturbed Alexander; however, the soothsayers bade him take courage, and interpreted it to mean that the place would become a very rich and populous city. Upon this he ordered the workmen at once to begin to build, while he himself started to visit the shrine and oracle of Zeus Ammon. This journey is tedious and difficult, and dangerous also, because the way lies over a waterless desert, where the traveller is exposed to violent storms of sand whenever the south wind blows. It was here that fifty thousand men of the army of Cambyses are said to have been overwhelmed by the sand, which rolled upon them in huge billows until they were completely engulfed. All these perils were present

to all men's minds, but it was hard to turn Alexander away from any project upon which he had once set his heart. The invariable good fortune which he had enjoyed confirmed his self-will, and his pride would not allow him to confess himself vanquished either by human enemies or natural obstacles.

XXVII. During his journey, the signal assistance which he received from the gods in all his difficulties was more remarkable and more generally believed than the oracular response which he is said to have received, although these portents made men more inclined to believe in the oracle. In the first place, plentiful showers were sent, which quite dissipated any fears which the expedition had entertained about suffering from thirst, while the rain cooled the sand and thus tempered the hot air of the desert to a pleasant warmth. Next, when the guides lost their way, and all were wandering helplessly, birds appeared who guided them on the right path, flying before them and encouraging them to march, and waiting for those of them who fell behind wearied. We are even assured by Kallisthenes that, at night, the birds by their cries recalled stragglers, and kept all on the direct road.

When Alexander had crossed the desert, and arrived at the temple, the priest of Ammon greeted him as the son of the god. He inquired whether anyone of his father's murderers had escaped, to which the priest answered that he must not ask such questions, for his father was more than man. Alexander now altered the form of his inquiry and asked whether he had punished all the murderers of Philip: and then he asked another question, about his empire, whether he was fated to conquer all mankind. On receiving as an answer that this would be granted to him and that Philip had been amply avenged, he made splendid presents to the god, and amply rewarded the priests.

This is the account which most historians give about the response of the oracle; but in a letter to his mother, Alexander says that he received certain secret prophecies, which upon his return he would communicate to her alone. Some narrate that the priest, wishing to give him a friendly greeting in the Greek language, said "My son,"

but being a foreigner, mispronounced the words so as to say "Son of Zeus," a mistake which delighted Alexander and caused men to say that the god himself had addressed him as "Son of Zeus." We are told that while in Egypt, he attended the lectures of the philosopher Psammon, and was especially pleased when he pointed out that God is King over all men, because that which rules and conquers must be king. He himself thought that he had improved upon this by saying that although God is the common father of all men, yet that he makes the best men more peculiarly his own.

XXVIII. In his dealings with Asiatics, he always acted and spoke with the greatest arrogance, and seemed firmly convinced of his own divine parentage, but he was careful not to make the same boast when among Greeks. On one occasion, indeed, he wrote to the Athenians the following letter about their possession of Samos. "I," he said, "should not have presented you with that free and glorious city; but it was presented to you by its former master, my reputed father Philip."

Yet afterwards when he was wounded by an arrow and in great pain he said "This, my friends, is blood that runs from my wound, and not

"Ichor, that courses through the veins of gods."

Once when a great thunderstorm terrified every one, Anaxarchus the sophist, who was with him, said "Son of Zeus, canst thou do as much?" To this, Alexander answered with a smile, "Nay, I love not to frighten my friends, as you would have me do, when you complained of my table, because fish was served upon it instead of princes' heads." Indeed we are told that once, when Alexander had sent some small fish to Hephæstion, Anaxarchus used this expression ironically disparaging those who undergo great toils and run great risks to obtain magnificent results which, after all, make them no happier or able to enjoy themselves than other men. From these anecdotes we see that Alexander himself did not put any belief in the story of his divine parentage, but that he used it as a means of imposing upon others.

XXIX. From Egypt he returned to Phœnicia, and there offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods, with grand processions, cyclic choruses, and performances of tragic dramas. These last were especially remarkable, for the local kings of Cyprus acted as choragi, that is, supplied the chorus and paid all the expenses of putting the drama upon the stage, just as is done every year at Athens by the representatives of the tribes, and they exhibited wonderful emulation, desiring to outdo each other in the splendour of their shows. The contest between Nikokreon, King of Salamis, and Pasikrates, King of Soli, is especially memorable. These two had obtained by lot the two most celebrated actors of the day, who were named Athenodorus and Thessalus, to act in their plays. Of these, Athenodorus was assigned to Nikokreon, and Thessalus, in whose success Alexander himself was personally interested, to Pasikrates. Alexander, however, never allowed any word to escape him denoting his preference for one over the other until after the votes had been given, and Athenodorus had been proclaimed the winner, when, as he was going home, he said that he would willingly have given up a province of his kingdom to save Thessalus from being vanquished. As Athenodorus was fined by the Athenians for being absent from their Dionysian festival, in which he ought to have taken part, he begged Alexander to write them a letter to excuse him. Alexander refused to do this, but paid his fine himself. And when Lykon, of Skarphia, an excellent actor who had pleased Alexander well, inserted a verse into the comedy which he was acting, in which he begged to be given ten talents, Alexander laughed and gave them to him.

Darius now sent an embassy to Alexander, bearing a letter, in which he offered to pay ten thousand talents as a ransom for his wife and children, and proposed that Alexander should receive all the territory west of the Euphrates, and become his ally and son-in-law. Alexander laid this proposal before his friends, and when Parmenio said, "I should accept it, if I were Alexander."—"So would I," replied Alexander, "if I were Parmenio." He wrote, however, a letter in answer to Darius, informing

him that if he would come to him, and submit himself, he should be used with courtesy; but that if not, he should presently march against him.

XXX. Soon after this the wife of Darius died in child-bed, which greatly grieved Alexander, as he thereby lost a great opportunity of displaying his magnanimity: nevertheless he granted her a magnificent funeral. We are told that one of the eunuchs attached to the royal harem, named Teireus, who had been captured with the ladies, made his escape shortly after the queen's death, rode straight to Darius, and informed him of what had happened. Darius, at this, beat his face and wept aloud, saying, "Alas for the fortune of Persia! that the wife and sister of the king should not only have been taken captive while she lived, but also have been buried unworthily of her rank when she died." To this the eunuch answered, "You have no cause to lament the evil fortune of Persia on account of your wife's burial, or of any want of due respect to her. Our lady Statira, your children, and your mother, when alive wanted for nothing except the light of your countenance, which our lord Oromasdes will some day restore to them, nor was she treated without honour when she died, for her funeral was even graced by the tears of her enemies. Alexander is as gracious a conqueror as he is a terrible enemy."

These words roused other suspicions in the mind of Darius: and, leading the eunuch into an inner chamber in his tent, he said to him, "If you have not, like the good luck of Persia, gone over to Alexander and the Macedonians, and if I am still your master Darius, tell me, I conjure you by the name of great Mithras our lord, and by the right hand of a king, which I give thee, do I lament over the least of Statira's misfortunes when I weep for her death, and did she not in her life make us more miserable by her dishonour, than if she had fallen into the hands of a cruel enemy? For what honest communication can a young conqueror have with the wife of his enemy, and what can be the meaning of his showing such excessive honour to her after her death?" While Darius was yet speaking, Teireus threw himself at his feet, and besought him to be silent, and not to dishonour Alexander

and his dead wife and sister by such suspicions, nor yet to take away from himself that thought which ought to be his greatest consolation in his misfortunes, which was that he had been conquered by one who was more than man. Rather ought he to admire Alexander, whose honourable treatment of the Persian women proved him to be even greater than did his bravery in vanquishing their men. These words the eunuch assured him, with many protestations and oaths, were perfectly true. Darius, when he heard this, came out of his tent to his friends, and, raising his hands to heaven, said, "Ye parent gods, who watch over the Persian throne, grant that I may again restore the fortune of Persia to its former state, in order that I may have an opportunity of repaying Alexander in person the kindness which he has shown to those whom I hold dearest; but if indeed the fated hour has arrived, and the Persian empire is doomed to perish, may no other conqueror than Alexander mount the throne of Cyrus." The above is the account given by most historians of what took place on this occasion.

XXXI. Alexander, after conquering all the country on the higher bank of the Euphrates, marched to attack Darius, who was advancing to meet him with an army of a million fighting men.

During this march, one of Alexander's friends told him as a joke, that the camp-followers had divided themselves into two bodies in sport, each of which was led by a general, the one called Alexander, and the other Darius; and that after beginning to skirmish with one another by throwing clods of earth, they had come to blows of the fist, and had at length become so excited that they fought with sticks and stones, and that it was hard to part them. On hearing this, Alexander ordered the two leaders to fight in single combat: and he himself armed the one called Alexander, while Philotas armed the representative of Darius. The whole army looked on, thinking that the result would be ominous of their own success or failure. After a severe fight, the one called Alexander conquered, and was rewarded with twelve villages and the right of wearing the Persian garb. This we are told by Eratosthenes the historian.

The decisive battle with Darius was fought at Gaugamela, not at Arbela, as most writers tell us. It is said that ~~this~~ word signifies "the house of the camel," and that one of the ancient Kings of Persia, whose life had been saved by the swiftness with which a camel bore him away from his enemies, lodged the animal there for the rest of its life, and assigned to it the revenues of several villages for its maintenance.

During the month Boedromion, at the beginning of the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, there was an eclipse of the moon: and on the eleventh day after the eclipse the two armies came within sight of one another. Darius kept his troops under arms, and inspected their ranks by torch-light, while Alexander allowed the Macedonians to take their rest, but himself with the soothsayer Aristander performed some mystical ceremonies in front of his tent, and offered sacrifice to Phœbus.

When Parmenio and the elder officers of Alexander saw the entire plain between Mount Niphates and the confines of Gordyene covered with the watch fires of the Persians, and heard the vague, confused murmur of their army like the distant roar of the sea, they were astonished, and said to one another that it would indeed be a prodigious effort to fight such a mass of enemies by daylight in a pitched battle.

As soon as Alexander had finished his sacrifice ^{ad-7} they went to him, and tried to persuade him to fall upon the Persians by night, as the darkness would prevent his troops from seeing the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. It was then that he made that memorable answer, "I will not steal a victory," which some thought to show an over-boastful spirit, which could jest in the presence of such fearful danger; while others thought that it showed a steady confidence and true knowledge of what would happen on the morrow, and meant that he did not intend to give Darius, when vanquished, the consolation of attributing his defeat to the confusion of a night attack; for Darius had already explained his defeat at Issus to have been owing to the confined nature of the ground, and to his forces having been penned up between the mountains and the sea. It was not any want of men

or of arms which would make Darius yield, when he had so vast a country and such great resources at his disposal : it was necessary to make pride and hope alike die within him, by inflicting upon him a crushing defeat in a fair field and in open daylight.

XXXII. After his officers had retired, Alexander retired to his tent and is said to have slept more soundly than was his wont, which surprised the generals who came to wait upon him early in the morning. On their own responsibility they gave orders to the soldiers to prepare their breakfast; and then, as time pressed, Parmenio entered his tent, and standing by his bedside, twice or thrice called him loudly by name. When he was awake, Parmenio asked him why he slept so soundly, as if he had already won the victory instead of being just about to fight the most important of all his battles. Alexander answered with a smile; "Do you not think we have already won the victory, now that we are no longer obliged to chase Darius over an enormous tract of wasted country?"

Alexander both before the battle, and in the most dangerous crisis of the day proved himself truly great, always taking judicious measures, with a cheerful confidence of success. His left wing was terribly shaken by a tumultuous charge of the Bactrian cavalry, who broke into the ranks of the Macedonians, while Mazæus sent some horsemen completely round the left wing, who fell upon the troops left to guard the baggage. Parmenio, finding his men thrown into confusion by these attacks, sent a message to Alexander, that his fortified camp and baggage would be lost, if he did not at once despatch a strong reinforcement to the rear. At the time when Alexander received this message, he was in the act of giving his own troops orders to attack, and he answered that Parmenio must, in his confusion, have forgotten that the victors win all the property of the vanquished, and that men who are defeated must not think about treasure or prisoners, but how to fight and die with honour. After sending back this answer to Parmenio, he put on his helmet; for he had left his tent fully armed at all other points, wearing a tunic of Sicilian manufacture

closely girt round his waist, and over that a double-woven linen corslet, which had been among the spoils taken at Issus. His helmet was of steel, polished as bright as silver, and was wrought by Theophilus, while round his neck he wore a steel gorget, inlaid with precious stones. His sword, his favourite weapon, was a miracle of lightness and tempering, and had been presented to him by the King of Kitium in Cyprus. The cloak which hung from his shoulders was by far the most gorgeous of all his garments, and was the work of the ancient artist Helikon,* presented to Alexander by the city of Rhodes, and was worn by him in all his battles. While he was arraying his troops in order of battle, and giving final directions to his officers, he rode another horse to spare Boukephalus, who was now somewhat old. As soon as he was ready to begin the attack, he mounted Boukephalus and led on his army.

XXXIII. Upon this occasion, after addressing the Thessalians and other Greek troops at considerable length, as they confidently shouted to him to lead them against the barbarians, we are told by Kallisthenes that he shifted his lance into his left hand, and raising his right hand to heaven, prayed to the gods that, if he really were the son of Zeus, they would assist and encourage the Greeks. The prophet Aristander, who rode by his side, dressed in a white robe, and with a crown of gold upon his head, now pointed out to him an eagle which rose over his head and directed its flight straight towards the enemy. This so greatly encouraged all who beheld it, that all the cavalry of Alexander's army at once set spurs to their horses and dashed forwards, followed by the phalanx. Before the first of them came to actual blows, the Persian line gave way, and terrible confusion took place, as Alexander drove the beaten troops before him, struggling to fight his way to the centre, where was Darius himself.

Alexander had already noted the conspicuous figure of this tall, handsome prince, as he stood in his lofty chariot, surrounded by the royal body guard, a glittering mass of well-armed horsemen, behind the deep ranks of the

* See Smith's 'Biographical Dictionary' s.v.

Persian army. The onslaught of Alexander was so terrific that none could withstand him, and those whom he drove before him, in headlong flight, disordered the ranks which were yet unbroken, and caused a general rout. Yet the noblest and bravest of the Persians fought and died manfully in defence of their king, and, even when lying on the ground at their last gasp, seized the men and horses by the legs to prevent their pursuing him. Darius himself, seeing all these frightful disasters, when his first line was hurled back in ruin, would fain have turned his chariot and fled, but this was difficult, for the wheels were encumbered by the heaps of corpses, and the horses were so excited and restive that the charioteer was unable to manage them. Darius, we are told, left his chariot and his arms, mounted a mare which had recently foaled, and rode away. He would not have escaped even thus, had not mounted messengers just then arrived from Parmenio, begging Alexander to come to his aid, as he was engaged with a large body of the enemy upon which he could make no impression. Indeed, throughout this battle, Parmenio is said to have displayed great remissness and selfwill, either because his courage was damped by age, or because, as we are told by Kallisthenes, he envied Alexander's greatness and prosperity. Alexander was much vexed at the message, but without explaining to the soldiers what his real reasons were, ordered the trumpets to sound the recall, as though he were tired of slaughter, or because night was now coming on. He himself at once rode to the scene of danger, but on his way thither heard that the enemy had been completely defeated and put to flight.

XXXIV. The result of this battle was the complete destruction of the Persian empire. Alexander was at once saluted King of Asia, and after a splendid sacrifice to the gods, distributed the treasures and provinces of that country among his friends. In the pride of his heart he now wrote to Greece, saying that all the despots must be driven out, and each city left independent with a constitutional government, and gave orders for the rebuilding of the city of Plataea, because the ancestors of the citizens of Plataea gave their territory to be consecrated to the

gods on behalf of the liberties of Greece. He also sent some part of the spoils to the citizens of Kroton, in Italy, to show his respect for the memory of Phayllus the athlete, who, during the Persian invasion, when all the other Greek cities in Italy deserted the cause of their countrymen in Greece, fitted out a ship of war at his own expense, and sailed to Salamis to take part in the battle there, and share in the dangers of the Greeks. Such honour did Alexander pay to personal prowess, for he loved to reward and to commemorate noble deeds.

XXXV. Alexander now marched into the country of Babylonia, which at once yielded to him. As he drew near to Ekbatana he marvelled much at an opening in the earth, out of which poured fire, as if from a well. Close by, the naphtha which was poured out formed a large lake. This substance is like bitumen, and is so easy to set on fire, that without touching it with any flame, it will catch light from the rays which are sent forth from a fire, burning the air which is between both. The natives, in order to show Alexander the qualities of naphtha, lightly sprinkled with it the street which led to his quarters, and when it became dark applied a match to one end of the track which had been sprinkled with it. As soon as it was alight in one place, the fire ran all along, and as quick as thought the whole street was in flames. At this time Alexander was in his bath, and was waited upon by Stephanus, a hard-favoured page-boy, who had, however, a fine voice. Athenophanes, an Athenian, who always anointed and bathed King Alexander, now asked him if he would like to see the power of the naphtha tried upon Stephanus, saying that if it burned upon his body and did not go out, the force of it must indeed be marvellous. The boy himself was eager to make the trial, and was anointed with it and set on fire. He was at once enveloped in flame, and Alexander was terrified for him, fearing that he would be burned to death. Indeed, had it not chanced that several attendants with pitchers of water in their hands had just arrived, all help would have been too late. They poured water over the boy and extinguished the flames, but not before he had been badly burned, so that he was ill for some time after. Some

writers, who are eager to prove the truth of ancient legends, say that this naphtha was truly the deadly drug used by Medea, with which she anointed the crown and robe spoken of in the tragedies: for flame could not be produced by them, nor of its own accord, but if fire were brought near to clothes steeped in naphtha they would at once burst into flame. The reason of this is that the rays which fire sends forth fall harmlessly upon all other bodies, merely imparting to them light and heat; but when they meet with such as have an oily, dry humour, and thereby have a sympathy with the nature of fire, they easily cause them to catch fire. It is a disputed question, however, how the naphtha is produced, though most writers conceive its combustible principle to be supplied by the greasy and fiery nature of the soil; for all the district of Babylonia is fiery hot, so that often barley is cast up out of the ground in which it is sown, as if the earth throbbed and vibrated with the heat, and during the hottest part of summer the inhabitants are wont to sleep upon leathern bags filled with water for the sake of coolness. Harpalus, who was appointed governor of the district, took an especial delight in adorning the palace and the public walks with Greek flowers and shrubs; but although he found no difficulty with most of them, he was unable to induce ivy to grow, because ivy loves a cold soil, and the earth there is too hot for it. These digressions, provided they be not too lengthy, we hope will not be thought tedious by our readers.

XXXVI. When Alexander made himself master of Susa, he found in the palace forty thousand talents worth of coined money, besides an immense mass of other valuable treasure. Here we are told was found five thousand talents weight of cloth dyed with Hermionic* purple cloth, which had been stored up there for a space of two hundred years save ten, and which nevertheless still kept its colour as brilliantly as ever. The reason of this is said to be that honey was originally used in dyeing the cloth purple, and white olive oil for such of it as was

* This dye was probably made from the murex or purple fish, caught in the Hermionic gulf, in Argolis, which produced a dye only second to that of Tyre.

died white: for cloth of these two colours will preserve its lustre without fading for an equal period of time. Demon also informs us that amongst other things the Kings of Persia had water brought from the Nile and the Danube, and laid up in their treasury, as a confirmation of the greatness of their empire, and to prove that they were lords of all the world.

XXXVII. As the district of Persis* was very hard to invade, both because of its being mountainous, and because it was defended by the noblest of the Persians (for Darius had fled thither for refuge), Alexander forced his way into it by a circuitous path, which was shown him by a native of the country, the son of a Lykian captive by a Persian mother, who was able to speak both the Greek and the Persian language. It is said that while Alexander was yet a child, the prophetess at the temple of Apollo at Delphi foretold that a wolf† should some day serve him for a guide when he went to attack the Persians. When Persis was taken, a terrible slaughter was made of all the prisoners. A letter written by Alexander himself is still extant, in which he orders that they should all be put to the sword, thinking this to be the safest course. He is said to have found as much coined money here‡ as in Susa, and so much other treasure that it required ten thousand carts, each drawn by a pair of mules, and five thousand camels, to carry it away.

Alexander, observing a large statue of Xerxes which had been thrown down and was being carelessly trampled upon by the soldiers as they pressed into the royal palace, stopped, and addressed it as though it were alive. "Shall we," said he, "leave thee lying there, because of thy invasion of Greece, or shall we set thee up again because of thy magnificence and greatness of soul?" He then stood musing for a long time, till at length he roused himself from his reverie and went his way. Being desirous of giving his soldiers some rest, as it was now winter, he remained in that country for four months. It is related

* "No certainty is attainable about the ancient geography of these regions. Mr. Long's Map of Ancient Persia shows how little can be made out." (Grote's 'History of Greece,' part ii. chap. cxiii., note.)

† Lykus in Greek signifies a wolf.

‡ In Persepolis, the capital of the district called Persia.

that when he first took his seat upon the royal throne of Persia, under the golden canopy, Demaratus, an old friend and companion of Alexander, burst into tears, and exclaimed that the Greeks who had died before that day had lost the greatest of pleasures, because they had not seen Alexander seated on the throne of Darius.

XXXVIII. After this, while he was engaged in preparing to march in pursuit of Darius, he chanced to be present at a banquet where his friends had brought their mistresses. Of these ladies the chief was the celebrated Thais, who afterwards became the mistress of King Ptolemy of Egypt, and who was of Attic parentage.

She at first amused Alexander by her conversation, then adroitly flattered him, and at last, after he had been drinking for some time, began to speak in a lofty strain of patriotism which scarcely became such a person. She declared, that she was fully repaid for all the hardships which she had undergone while travelling through Asia with the army, now that she was able to revel in the palace of the haughty Kings of Persia; but that it would be yet sweeter to her to burn the house of Xerxes, who burned her native Athens, and to apply the torch with her own hand in the presence of Alexander, that it might be told among men that a woman who followed Alexander's camp had taken a more noble revenge upon the Persians for the wrongs of Greece, than all the admirals and generals of former times had been able to do. This speech of hers was enthusiastically applauded, and all Alexander's friends pressed him to execute the design. Alexander leaped from his seat, and led the way, with a garland upon his head and a torch in his hand. The rest of the revellers followed, and surrounded the palace, while the remainder of the Macedonians, hearing what was going on, brought them torches. They did so the more readily because they thought that the destruction of the palace indicated an intention on Alexander's part to return home, and not to remain in Persia. Some historians say that this was how he came to burn the palace, while others say that he did it after mature deliberation: but all agree that he repented of what he had done, and gave orders to have the fire extinguished.

XXXIX. His liberality and love of making presents increased with his conquests: and his gifts were always bestowed in so gracious a manner as to double their value. I will now mention a few instances of this. Ariston, the leader of the Pæonians, having slain an enemy, brought his head and showed it to Alexander, saying, "O king, in my country such a present as this is always rewarded with a gold cup." Alexander smiled, and said, "Yes, with an empty cup: but I pledge you in this gold cup, full of good wine, and give you the cup besides." One of the common Macedonian soldiers was driving a mule laden with gold belonging to Alexander; but as the animal became too weary to carry it, he unloaded it, and carried the gold himself. When Alexander saw him toiling under his burden, and learned his story, he said, "Be not weary yet, but carry it a little way farther, as far as your own tent, for I give it to you." He seemed to be more vexed with those who did not ask him for presents than with those who did so. He wrote a letter to Phokion, in which he declared that he would not any longer remain his friend, if Phokion refused all his presents. Serapion, a boy who served the ball to the players at tennis, had been given nothing by Alexander because he had never asked for anything. One day when Serapion was throwing the ball to the players as usual, he omitted to do so to the king, and when Alexander asked why he did not give him the ball, answered "You do not ask me for it." At this, Alexander laughed and gave him many presents. Once he appeared to be seriously angry with one Proteus, a professed jester. The man's friends interceded for him, and he himself begged for pardon with tears in his eyes, until Alexander said that he forgave him. "My king," said he "will you not give me something by way of earnest, to assure me that I am in your favour." Upon this the king at once ordered him to be given five talents. The amount of money which he bestowed upon his friends and his body guard appears from a letter which his mother Olympias wrote to him, in which she said, "It is right to benefit your friends and to show your esteem for them; but you are making them all as great as kings, so that they get many friends, and leave you alone without

any." Olympias often wrote to him to this effect, but he kept all her letters secret, except one which Hephæstion, who was accustomed to read Alexander's letters, opened and read. Alexander did not prevent him, but took his own ring from his finger, and pressed the seal upon Hephæstion's mouth. The son of Mazæus, who had been the chief man in the kingdom under Darius, was governor of a province, and Alexander added another larger one to it. The young nobleman refused to accept the gift, and said, "My king, formerly there was only one Darius, but you now have made many Alexanders."

He presented Parmenio with the house of Bagoas, in which it is said that property worth a thousand talents was found which had belonged to the people of Susa. He also sent word to Antipater, warning him to keep a guard always about his person, as a plot had been formed against his life. He sent many presents to his mother, but forbade her to interfere with the management of the kingdom. When she stormed at this decision of his, he patiently endured her anger; and once when Antipater wrote a long letter to him full of abuse of Olympias, he observed, after reading it, that Antipater did not know that one tear of his mother's eye would outweigh ten thousand such letters.

XL. Alexander now observed that his friends were living in great luxury and extravagance; as for instance, Hagnon of Teos had his shoes fastened with silver nails; Leonnatus took about with him many camels, laden with dust,* from Egypt, to sprinkle his body with when he wrestled; Philotas had more than twelve miles of nets for hunting; and that all of them used richly perfumed unguents to anoint themselves with instead of plain oil, and were attended by a host of bathmen and chamberlains. He gently reproved them for this, saying that he was surprised that men who had fought so often and in such great battles, did not remember that the victors always sleep more sweetly than the vanquished, and that they did not perceive, when they imitated the luxury of the Persians, that indulgence is for slaves, but labour for

* The ancients, whose bodies were anointed with oil or unguents, used dust when wrestling, to enable them to hold one another.

princes. "How," he asked, "can a man attend to his horse, or clean his own lance and helmet, if he disdains to rub his own precious body with his hands? And do you not know, that our career of conquest will come to an end on the day when we learn to live like those whom we have vanquished?" He himself, by way of setting an example, now exposed himself to greater fatigues and hardships than ever in his campaigns and hunting expeditions, so that old Lakon, who was with him when he slew a great lion, said, "Alexander, you fought well with the lion for his kingdom." This hunting scene was afterwards represented by Kraterus at Delphi. He had figures made in bronze of Alexander and the hounds fighting with the lion, and of himself running to help him. Some of the figures were executed by the sculptor Lysippus, and some by Leochares.

XLI. Thus did Alexander risk his life in the vain endeavour to teach his friends to live with simplicity and hardihood; but they, now that they had become rich and important personages, desired to enjoy themselves, and no longer cared for long marches and hard campaigns, so that at last they began to murmur against him, and speak ill of him. He bore this with great gentleness at first, saying that it was the part of a king to do his subjects good and to be ill-spoken of by them in return. Indeed, he used to take advantage of the most trifling incidents to show the esteem he had for his intimate friends, of which I will now give a few examples.

Peukestas once was bitten by a bear, while hunting. He wrote and told his friends of his mishap, but kept it secret from Alexander. He, when he heard of it, wrote to Peukestas, blaming him for having concealed his hurt. "But now," he writes, "let me know how you are, and tell me if those who were hunting the bear with you deserted you, that I may punish them." When Hephæstion was absent on some business, he wrote to him to say that Kraterus had been struck in the thighs with Perdikkas's spear, while they were amusing themselves by baiting an ichneumon.

When Peukestas recovered from some illness, he wrote to the physician Alexippus, congratulating him on the

cure which he had effected. When Kraterus was ill, Alexander had a dream about him, in consequence of which he offered sacrifice to certain gods, and bade him also sacrifice to them : and when Pausanias the physician wished to give Kraterus a draught of hellebore, Alexander wrote to him, advising him to take the drug, but expressing the greatest anxiety about the result.

He imprisoned Ephialtes and Kissus, who were the first to bring him the news that Harpalus had absconded, because he thought that they wrongfully accused him.

When he was on the point of sending home all his invalided and superannuated soldiers, Eurylochus of Ægæ was found to have placed his name upon the list, although he was in perfect health. When questioned, he confessed that he was in love with a lady named Telesippa, who was returning to the sea-coast, and that he had acted thus in order to be able to follow her. Alexander on hearing this, enquired who this lady was. Being told that she was a free-born Greek courtesan, he answered, "I sympathise with your affection, Eurylochus ; but since Telesippa is a free-born woman, let us try if we cannot, either by presents or arguments, persuade her to remain with us."

XLII. It is wonderful how many letters and about what trifling matters he found time to write to his friends. For instance, he sent a letter to Kilikia ordering search to be made for a slave boy belonging to Seleukus, who had run away, and praising Peukestas because he had captured Nikon, the runaway slave of Kraterus. He wrote also to Megabazus about a slave who had taken sanctuary in a temple, ordering him to catch him when outside of the temple, if possible, but not to lay hands on him within its precincts.

We are told that when he was sitting as judge to hear men tried for their lives, he was wont to close one ear with his hand, while the prosecutor was speaking, in order that he might keep it unbiassed and impartial to listen to what the accused had to say in his defence. But later in his life, so many persons were accused before him, and so many of them truly, that his temper became soured and he inclined to believe them to be all alike

guilty. And he was especially transported with rage, and made completely pitiless if any one spoke ill of him, for he valued his reputation more than his life or his crown.

He now set out again in pursuit of Darius, with the intention of fighting another battle with him : but on hearing that Darius had been taken by the satrap Bessus, he dismissed all his Thessalian cavalry and sent them home, giving them a largess of two thousand talents over and above the pay which was due to them. He now set out on a long and toilsome journey in pursuit of Darius, for in eleven days he rode more than five hundred miles, so that his men were terribly distressed, especially by want of water. One day he met some Macedonians who were carrying water from a river in skins on the backs of mules. Seeing Alexander faint with thirst, as it was the hottest time of the day, they quickly filled a helmet with water and gave it to him to drink. He asked them to whom they were carrying the water, to which they answered, "To our own sons; but provided that you live, even if they should die, we can beget other children." On hearing this he took the helmet into his hands; but seeing all the horsemen around him eagerly watching him and coveting the water, he gave it back without tasting it. He thanked the men for offering it to him, but said, "If I alone drink it, all these soldiers will be discontented." The soldiers, when they saw the noble courage and self-denial of Alexander, bade him lead them on boldly, and urged forward their horses, saying that they felt neither hunger nor thirst, and did not think themselves to be mortal men, so long as they had such a king as Alexander to lead them.

XLIII. The whole of his army was equally enthusiastic; yet the fatigues of the march were so great, that when Alexander burst into the enemy's camp, only sixty men are said to have followed him. Here they passed over great heaps of gold and silver, and pursued a long line of waggons, full of women and children, which were proceeding along without any drivers, until they had reached the foremost of them, because they imagined that Darius might be hidden in them. At last he was found,

lying in his chariot, pierced with innumerable javelins, and just breathing his last. He was able to ask for drink, and when given some cold water by Polystratus, he said to him, "My good sir, this is the worst of all my misfortunes that I am unable to recompense you for your kindness to me; but Alexander will reward you, and the gods will reward Alexander for his courteous treatment of my mother and wife and daughters. Wherefore I pray thee, embrace him, as I embrace thee." With these words he took Polystratus by the hand and died. When Alexander came up, he showed great grief at the sight, and covered the body with his own cloak. He afterwards captured Bessus and tore him asunder, by bending down the tops of trees and tying different parts of his body to each, and then letting them spring up again so that each tore off the limb to which it was attached. Alexander now had the corpse of Darius adorned as became a prince, and sent it to his mother, while he received his brother Exathres into the number of his intimate friends.

XLIV. He himself, with a few picked troops, now invaded Hyrkania, where he discovered an arm of the sea, which appeared to be as large as the Euxine, or Black Sea, but not so salt. He was unable to obtain any certain information about it, but conjectured it to be a branch of the Mæotic lake.* Yet geographers, many years before Alexander, knew well that this, which is entitled the Hyrkanian or Caspian Sea, is the northernmost of four gulfs proceeding from the exterior ocean. Here some of the natives surprised the grooms in charge of his horse Boukephalus, and captured the animal. Alexander was much distressed at this, and sent a herald to make proclamation that unless his horse were restored to him, he would massacre the whole tribe with their wives and children. When, however, they brought back his horse, and offered to place their chief cities in his hands as a pledge for their good behaviour, he treated them all with kindness, and paid a ransom for the horse to those who had captured it.

XLV. From hence he passed into Parthia, where, being at leisure, he first began to wear the Persian dress, either

The Sea of Azof.

because he thought that he should more easily win the hearts of the natives by conforming to their fashion, or else in order to try the obedience of his Macedonian soldiers and see whether they might not, by degrees, be brought to pay him the same respect and observance which the kings of Persia used to exact from their subjects. He did not, however, completely adopt the Persian costume, which would have been utterly repugnant to Grecian ideas, and wore neither the trousers, the coat with long sleeves, nor the tiara, but his dress, though less simple than the Macedonian, was still far from being so magnificent or so effeminate as that of the Persians. He at first only wore this dress when giving audiences to the natives of the country, or when alone with his more intimate friends, but afterwards he frequently both drove out publicly and transacted business in the Persian dress. The sight greatly offended the Macedonians, but yet they were so filled with admiration for his courage, that they felt he must be indulged in his fancies about dress; for besides all his other honourable wounds, he had only a short time before this been struck by an arrow in the calf of his leg, so that splinters of the bone came out, and also received such a blow upon his neck from a stone, that his eyesight was affected for a considerable time afterwards. Yet he did not cease to expose himself to danger, but crossed the river Orexartes, which he himself thought to be the Tanais or Don, and, although suffering from an attack of dysentery, defeated the Scythians and chased them for many miles.

XLVI. Most historians, amongst whom are Kleitarchus, Polykleitus, Onesikritus, Antigenes, and Istrus, say that while in this country he met an Amazon: while Aristobulus, Chares the court-usher, Ptolemy, Antikleides, Philon of Thebes, and Philippus the herald of festivals, besides Hekataeus of Eretria, Philip of Chalkis, and Douris of Samos, say that this is a mere fiction. And this opinion seems to be corroborated by Alexander himself: for he wrote to Antipater an exact account of his Scythian campaign, and mentioned that the King of the Scythians offered him his daughter in marriage, but says nothing about Amazons. It is said that many years afterwards,

when Lysimachus had made himself king, Onesikritus was reading aloud to him the fourth book of his History of Alexander, in which mention is made of the Amazon. Lysimachus asked him with a quiet smile, "And where was I all the time?" However, Alexander's fame is not impaired if we disbelieve this story, nor is it increased if we regard it as true.

XLVII. As he feared that the Macedonians would refuse to follow him any farther, he allowed the great mass of his army to repose itself, and advanced through Hyrkania with a force of twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, all picked men. In a speech addressed to these select regiments, he declared that the natives of Asia had only seen them hitherto as if in a dream; and that, if they merely threw the whole country into disorder and then retired from it, the Asiatics would attack them as boldly as if they were so many women. Yet he said, that he permitted those who desired it to leave his service and return home, merely protesting against being left, with only his personal friends and a few volunteers, to carry on the noble enterprise of making Macedonia mistress of the whole world. These are almost the exact words which he uses in a letter to Antipater, and he further says that when he had spoken thus, the soldiers burst into a universal shout, bidding him lead them whithersoever he would. After this experiment had succeeded with the select troops, it was no difficult matter to induce the remainder to follow him, but they came almost of their own accord. He now began to imitate the Asiatic habits more closely, and endeavoured to assimilate the Macedonian and Asiatic customs and manners, hoping that by this means his empire, during his absence, would rest upon a foundation of good will rather than of force. To further this object he selected thirty thousand native youths, whom he ordered to be taught to speak the Greek language and to use the same arms as the Macedonians; and appointed a numerous body of instructors for them. His marriage with Roxana was due to a genuine passion, for he was struck by her great beauty when he saw her dance in a chorus after a feast, but nevertheless the alliance was a very politic one; for

the natives were pleased to see him take a wife from among themselves, and were charmed with the courteous and honourable conduct of Alexander, who, although Roxana was the only woman whom he had ever loved, yet would not approach her until he was lawfully married to her.

As Alexander perceived that, among his most intimate friends, Hephæstion encouraged him and furthered his designs, while Kraterus steadfastly adhered to the Macedonian customs, he made use of the latter in all transactions with Asiatics, and of the former when dealing with Greeks and Macedonians. He loved Hephæstion, and respected Kraterus above all the rest of his friends, and was wont to say that Hephæstion loved Alexander, but that Kraterus loved the king. His favour caused constant jealousies between them, so that once in India they actually drew their swords and fought with one another. Their friends began to take part in the quarrel on either side, when Alexander rode up, and bitterly reproached Hephæstion before them all, saying that he must be a fool and a madman if he did not see, that without Alexander's favour he would be nobody. Privately also he sharply rebuked Kraterus; and calling them both before him, made them be friends again, swearing by Zeus Ammon, and all the gods, that they were the two men whom he loved best in the world; but that if he heard of any more quarrelling between them he would put them both to death, or at least him who began the quarrel. In consequence of this, it is said that there never again, even in sport, was any dispute between them.

XLVIII. Philotas, the son of Parmenio, was a man of much importance among the Macedonians; for he was courageous and hardy, and the most liberal man, and the most devoted to his friends in all the army except Alexander himself. We are told of him that once a friend of his came to him to borrow money, and he at once commanded one of his servants to let him have it. His purse-bearer answered that he had no money, upon which Philotas exclaimed, "What! Have I no plate or furniture upon which you can raise money for my friend?"

His lofty carriage, his immense wealth, and the splendour in which he lived, caused him to appear too great for a

private station, while his pride and vulgar ostentation made him generally disliked. His own father, Parmenio, once said to him: "My son, I pray you show a little more humility." He had long been an object of suspicion to Alexander, who was kept constantly informed about him by the following means:—After the battle of Issus, when the baggage of Darius was captured at Damascus, there was taken among the captives a beautiful Greek girl, named Antigone. She fell to the lot of Philotas, and became his mistress; and the young man, who was much enamoured of her, used to boast to her over his wine that all the conquests of the Macedonians were really due to the prowess of his father and himself, and that Alexander was merely a foolish boy, who owed his crown and his empire to their exertions. Antigone repeated these expressions to one of her friends, who, as was natural, did not keep them secret, so that at last they reached the ears of Kraterus. Kraterus privately introduced the woman to Alexander; and he, after he had heard her repeat what she had been told, ordered her to take secret note of the confidential expressions of Philotas, and to report them, from time to time, to himself.

XLIX. Philotas had no idea that he was being spied upon in this manner, and in his conversation with Antigone frequently spoke insolently and slightly of his sovereign. Alexander, although he had accumulated terrible proofs of treason against Philotas, nevertheless remained silent, either because he felt assured of the loyalty of Parmenio, or because he feared to attack a man of such power and importance. At length, however, a Macedonian of Chalastra, named Simnus, formed a plot against Alexander's life, and invited a young man, named Nikomachus, his own intimate friend, to join him. Nikomachus refused compliance, and told the whole story of the plot to his brother, Kebalinus, who at once had an interview with Philotas, and bade him bring them at once to Alexander, as persons who had a most important communication to make to him. Philotas, however, for some reason or other, did not bring them before Alexander, but said that the king was not at leisure to hear them, as he was engaged in more important business. This he repeated on a second

occasion; and as his behaviour made the two brothers suspect his loyalty, they communicated with another officer, and by his means obtained an audience. They now told Alexander about the design of Limnus, and also said that Philotas had acted very luke-warmly in the matter, as they had twice told him that there was a plot against Alexander, and yet he had, on each occasion, disregarded their warning.

This greatly enraged Alexander: and as when Limnus was arrested he defended himself desperately and was killed in the scuffle, he was yet more disturbed, as he feared he had now lost all clue to the plot. He now openly showed his displeasure with Philotas, and encouraged all his enemies to say boldly that it was folly of the king to imagine that an obscure man like Limnus would have ventured to form a conspiracy against his life, but that Limnus was merely a tool in the hands of some more powerful person; and that if he wished to discover the real authors of the plot, he must seek for them among those who would have been most benefited by its success. Finding that the king lent a ready ear to suggestions of this kind, they soon furnished him with an overwhelming mass of evidence of the treasonable designs of Philotas. Philotas was at once arrested, and put to the torture in the presence of the chief officers of the Macedonian army, while Alexander himself sat behind a curtain to hear what he would say. It is said that when Alexander heard Philotas piteously beg Hephæstion for mercy, he exclaimed aloud, "Are you such a coward as this, Philotas, and yet contrive such daring plots?" To be brief, Philotas was put to death, and immediately afterwards Alexander sent to Media and caused Parmenio to be assassinated, although he was a man who had performed the most important services for Philip, had, more than any other of the older Macedonians, encouraged Alexander to invade Asia, and had seen two of his three sons die in battle before he perished with the third. This cruelty made many of the friends of Alexander fear him, and especially Antipater,* who now formed a secret league with the Ætolians, who also feared Alexander because

* Antipater had been left by Alexander as his viceroy in Macedonia.

when he heard of the destruction of the people of *Æneadæ*, he said that he himself, and not the sons of the people of *Æneadæ*, would be revenged upon the *Ætolians*.

L. Not long after this followed the murder of *Kleitus*, which, if simply told, seems more cruel than that of *Philotas*; but if we consider the circumstances under which it took place, and the provocation which was given, we shall treat it rather as a misfortune which befel *Alexander* during a fit of drunken passion than as a deliberate act. It happened as follows. Some men came from the sea-coast, bringing Greek grapes as a present to *Alexander*. He admired their bloom and ripeness, and invited *Kleitus* to see them, meaning to present him with some of them. *Kleitus* was engaged in offering sacrifice, but on receiving this summons left his sacrifice and went to the king: upon which, three of the sheep which he was about to offer up as victims, followed him. When *Alexander* heard of this, he consulted his soothsayers, *Aristander*, and *Kleomantes* the *Iaconian*. As they reported that this was an evil omen, he bade them at once offer an expiatory sacrifice on behalf of *Kleitus*; for he himself, three days before, had dreamed a strange dream about *Kleitus*, that he had seen him sitting dressed in black amongst the sons of *Parmenio*, who were all of them dead. Before, however, the sacrifices on behalf of *Kleitus* had been performed, he came to the banquet, before which *Alexander* himself had offered sacrifice to the *Dioskuri*.

After all had drunk heavily, a song was sung which had been composed by one *Pranichus*, or *Pierion* according to some writers, in which the generals who had recently been defeated by the barbarians were held up to public shame and ridicule. The elder *Macedonians* were vexed at this, and blamed both the writer of the song and the man who sung it, but *Alexander* and his associates were much pleased with it, and bade the singer go on. *Kleitus*, who was now very much excited by drink and who was naturally of a fierce and independent temper, was especially annoyed, and said that it was not right for *Macedonians* to be thus insulted in the presence of enemies and barbarians, for that, in spite of their misfortune, they were far braver men than those who ridiculed them.

Alexander answered that Kleitus, when he called cowardice a misfortune, was no doubt pleading his own cause: at which reproach Kleitus sprang to his feet, and exclaimed, "My cowardice at any rate saved the life of the son of the gods, when he turned his back to the sword of Spithridates; so that now, by the blood and wounds of the Macedonians, you have become so great a man that you pretend to be the child of Ammon, and disown your father Philip."

LI. Alexander, stung to the quick by these words, said, "Villain, do you suppose that you will be allowed to spread these calumnies against me, rendering the Macedonians disaffected, and yet go unpunished?" "Too much are we punished," answered Kleitus, "when we see such a reward as this given us for all our hard service, but we congratulate those of us who are dead, because they died before they saw Macedonians beaten with Median rods, and begging Persian attendants to procure them an audience of their king." When Kleitus spoke his mind thus boldly, Alexander's intimate friends answered with bitter reproaches, but the older men endeavoured to pacify them. Alexander now turning to Xenodochus of Kardia and Astenius of Kolophon, asked, "Do not the Greeks seem to you to treat the Macedonians as if they were beasts, and they themselves were more than mortal men?" Kleitus, however, would not hold his peace, but went on to say that if Alexander could not bear to hear men speak their mind, he had better not invite free-born people to his table, and ought to confine himself to the society of barbarians and slaves who would pay respect to his Persian girdle and striped * tunic. At this speech Alexander could no longer restrain his passion, but seized an apple from the table, hurled it at Kleitus, and began to feel for his dagger. Aristophanes, one of his body-guard, had already secreted it, and the rest now pressed round him imploring him to be quiet. He however leaped to his feet, and, as if in a great emergency, shouted in the Macedonian tongue to the foot-guards to

* The word which I have translated 'striped' is mentioned by Xenophon in the *Cyropædia* as one of the ensigns of royalty assumed by Cyrus.

turn out. He bade the trumpeter sound an alarm, and as the man hesitated and refused, struck him with his fist. This man afterwards gained great credit for his conduct, as it was thought that by it he had saved the whole camp from being thrown into an uproar. As Kleitus would not retract what he had said, his friends seized him and forced him out of the room. But he re-entered by another door, and in an offensive and insolent tone began to recite the passage from the *Andromache* of Euripides, which begins,

“Ah me! in Greece an evil custom reigns,” &c.

Upon this Alexander snatched a lance from one of his guards, and ran Kleitus through the body with it, just as he was drawing aside the curtain and preparing to enter the room. Kleitus fell with a loud groan, and died on the spot. Alexander, when he came to himself, and saw his friends all standing round in mute reproach, snatched the spear out of the corpse, and would have thrust it into his own neck, but was forcibly withheld by his guards, who laid hold of him and carried him into his bed-chamber.

LIII. Alexander spent the whole night in tears, and on the next day was so exhausted by his agony of grief as to be speechless, and only able to sigh heavily. At length his friends, alarmed at his silence, broke into the room. He took no notice of any of their attempts at consolation, except that he seemed to make signs of assent when Aristander the soothsayer told him that all this had been preordained to take place, and reminded him of his dream about Kleitus. His friends now brought to him Kallisthenes the philosopher, who was a nephew of Aristotle, and Anaxarchus of Abdera. Kallisthenes endeavoured to soothe his grief, by kind and gentle consolation, but Anaxarchus, a man who had always pursued an original method of his own in philosophical speculations, and who was thought to be overbearing and harsh-tempered by his friends, as soon as he entered the room exclaimed, “This is that Great Alexander, upon whom the eyes of the world are fixed: there he lies like a slave, fearing what men will say of him, although he ought rather to dictate to them what they should think right, as becomes

the master of the world, and not to be influenced by their foolish opinions. Know you not," asked he "that Law and Justice sit beside the throne of Zeus, and make everything which is done by those in power to be lawful and right?" By such discourse as this Anaxarchus assuaged Alexander's sorrow, but encouraged his savage and lawless disposition. He gained great favour for himself, and was able to influence Alexander against Kallisthenes, who was already no favourite with him on account of his upright, uncompromising spirit. It is related that once at table, when the conversation turned upon the seasons, and upon the climate of Asia, Kallisthenes argued that it was colder in the country where they were than in Greece; and when Anaxarchus vehemently contradicted this, he said, "Why, you must admit that this country is the colder of the two; for in Greece you used to wear only one cloak all through the winter, whereas here you sit down to dinner wrapped in three Persian rugs." This reply made Anaxarchus more his enemy than before.

LIII. Kallisthenes made all the sophists and flatterers of Alexander jealous of him because he was much sought after by the young men for his learning, and was liked by the elder men on account of his sober, dignified, and austere life, which confirmed the common report, that he had come to the court of Alexander with the intention of prevailing upon him to refund his native city, and collect together its scattered citizens. His high moral character gained him many enemies, but he himself gave some colour to their accusations by his conduct in constantly refusing all invitations, and by behaving himself with gravity and silence when in society, as if he were displeased with his company. His manner had caused Alexander himself to say of him, "I hate a philosopher who is not wise in his own interest." It is related that once at a great banquet, when sitting over their wine, Kallisthenes was asked to speak in praise of the Macedonians, and that he at once poured forth such a fluent and splendid eulogy that all the company rose, vehemently applauding, and threw their garlands to him. At this Alexander remarked that, as Euripides says,

"On noble subjects, all men can speak well."

"Now," said he, "show us your ability by blaming the Macedonians, in order that they may be made better men by having their shortcomings pointed out." Kallisthenes hereupon began to speak in a depreciatory strain, and told many home-truths about the Macedonians, pointing out that Philip had become strong only because Greece was weakened by faction, and quoting the line,

"In times of trouble, bad men rise to fame."

This speech caused the Macedonians to hate him most bitterly, and provoked Alexander to say that Kallisthenes had made a display, not of his own abilities, but of his dislike to the Macedonians.

LIV. This is the account which Stræbus, Kallisthenes's reader, is said by Hermippus to have given to Aristotle about the quarrel between Kallisthenes and Alexander; and he added that Kallisthenes was well aware that he was out of favour with the king, and twice or thrice when setting out to wait on him would repeat the line from the *Iliad*,

"Patroklus, too, hath died, a better man than thou."

On hearing this Aristotle acutely remarked, that Kallisthenes had great ability and power of speech, but no common sense. He, like a true philosopher, refused to kneel and do homage to Alexander, and alone had the spirit to express in public what all the oldest and best Macedonians privately felt. By his refusal he relieved the Greeks and Alexander from a great disgrace, but ruined himself, because he seemed to use force rather than persuasion to attain his object. We are told by Charon of Mitylene that once when at table, Alexander, after drinking, passed the cup to one of his friends; and that he after receiving it, rose, stood by the hearth, and after drinking knelt before Alexander: after which he kissed him and resumed his seat. All the guests did this in turn until the cup came to Kallisthenes. The king, who was conversing to Hephæstion, did not take any notice of what he did, and after drinking he also came forward to kiss him, when Demetrius, who was surnamed Pheidon, said, "My king, do not kiss him, for he alone has not done

homage to you." Upon this Alexander avoided kissing Kallisthenes, who said in a loud voice, "Then I will go away with the loss of a kiss."

LV. The breach thus formed was widened by Hephæstion, who declared that Kallisthenes had agreed with him to kneel before Alexander, and then had broken his compact; and this story was believed by Alexander. After this came Lysimachus and Hagnon, and many others, who accused Kallisthenes of giving himself great airs, as though he were a queller of despots, and said that he had a large following among the younger men, who looked up to him as being the only free man among so many myriads of people. These accusations were more easily believed to be true because at this time the plot of Hermolaus was discovered; and it was said that when Hermolaus enquired of Kallisthenes how one might become the most famous man in the world, he answered, "By killing the most famous man in the world." He was even said to have encouraged Hermolaus to make the attempt, bidding him have no fear of Alexander's golden throne, and reminding him that he would have to deal with a man who was both wounded and in ill-health. Yet none of those concerned in Hermolaus's conspiracy mentioned the name of Kallisthenes, even under the most exquisite tortures. Alexander himself, in the letters which he wrote to Kraterus, Attalus, and Alketas immediately after the discovery of the plot, states that the royal pages, when put to the torture, declared that they alone had conspired, and that they had no accomplices. "The pages," Alexander goes on to say, "were stoned to death by the Macedonians, but I will myself punish the sophist, and those who sent him hither, and those who receive into their cities men that plot against me." In these words he evidently alludes to Aristotle: for Kallisthenes was brought up in his house, being the son of Hero, Aristotle's first cousin. Some writers tell us that Kallisthenes was hanged by the orders of Alexander; others that he was thrown into chains and died of sickness. Chares informs us that he was kept in confinement for seven months, in order that he might be tried in the presence of Aristotle himself, but that during the time

when Alexander was wounded in India, he died of excessive corpulence, covered with vermin.

LVI. This, however, took place after the period of which we write. At this time Demaratus of Corinth, although an elderly man, was induced to travel as far as the court of Alexander: and when he beheld him, said that the Greeks who had died before they saw Alexander sitting upon the throne of Darius, had lost one of the greatest pleasures in the world.

Demaratus by this speech gained great favour with the king, but lived but a short time to enjoy it, as he was soon carried off by sickness. His funeral was conducted with the greatest magnificence, for the whole army was employed to raise a mound of great extent, and eighty cubits high, as a memorial of him; while his remains were placed in a splendidly equipped four-horse chariot and sent back to the sea-coast.

LVII. As Alexander was now about to invade India, and observed that his army had become unwieldy and difficult to move in consequence of the mass of plunder with which the soldiers were encumbered, he collected all the baggage-waggons together one morning at daybreak, and first burned his own and those of his companions, after which he ordered those of the Macedonians to be set on fire. This measure appears to have been more energetic than the occasion really required; and yet it proved more ruinous in the design than in the execution: for although some of the soldiers were vexed at the order, most of them with enthusiastic shouts distributed their most useful property among those who were in want, burning and destroying all the rest with a cheerful alacrity which raised Alexander's spirits to the highest pitch. Yet Alexander was terrible and pitiless in all cases of dereliction of duty. He put to death Menander, one of his personal friends, because he did not remain in a fort, where he had been appointed to command the garrison; and he shot dead with his own hand Orsodates, a native chief who had revolted from him. At this time it happened that a ewe brought forth a lamb, upon whose head was a tiara in shape and colour like that of the King of Persia, with stones hanging on each side of it.

Alexander, much disturbed at this portent, was purified by the priests at Babylon, whom he was accustomed to make use of for this purpose, but told his friends that he was alarmed for their sake, and not for his own, as he feared that if he fell, heaven might transfer his crown to some unworthy and feeble successor. However, he was soon cheered by a better omen. The chief of Alexander's household servants, a Macedonian named Proxenus, while digging a place to pitch the royal tent near the river Oxus, discovered a well, full of a smooth, fatty liquid. When the upper layer was removed, there spouted forth a clear oil, exactly like olive oil in smell and taste, and incomparably bright and clear: and that, too, in a country where no olive trees grew. It is said that the water of the Oxus itself is very soft and pleasant, and that it causes the skin of those who bathe in it to become sleek and glossy. Alexander was greatly delighted with this discovery, as we learn from a letter which he wrote to Antipater, in which he speaks of this as being one of the most important and manifest signs of the divine favour which had ever been vouchsafed to him. The soothsayers held that the omen portended, that the campaign would be glorious, but laborious and difficult: for oil has been given by the gods to men to refresh them after labour.

LVIII. Alexander when on this expedition ran terrible risks in battle, and was several times grievously wounded. His greatest losses were caused, however, by the want of provisions, and by the severity of the climate. He himself, striving to overcome fortune by valour, thought nothing impossible to a brave man, and believed that, while daring could surmount all obstacles, cowardice could not be safe behind any defences. We are told that when he was besieging the fortress of Sisymithres, which was placed upon a steep and inaccessible rock, his soldiers despaired of being able to take it. He asked Oxyartes what sort of a man Sisymithres himself was in respect of courage. When Oxyartes answered that he was the greatest coward in the world, Alexander said, "You tell me, that the fortress can be taken; for his spirit is weak." And indeed he did take it, by playing upon the fears of Sisymithres. Once he was attacking another

fortress, also situated upon the top of a lofty rock. While he was addressing words of encouragement to the younger Macedonians, finding that one of them was named Alexander, he said "You must this day prove yourself a brave man, if but for your name's sake." The youth fought most bravely, but fell, to the great grief of Alexander. When he reached the city named Nysa,* the Macedonians were unwilling to attack it, because a very deep river ran past its walls. "Unlucky that I am," exclaimed Alexander, "why did I never learn to swim?" Saying thus, he prepared to cross the river just as he was, with his shield upon his left arm. After an unsuccessful assault, ambassadors were sent by the besieged, who were surprised to find Alexander dressed in his armour, covered with dust and blood. A cushion was now brought to him, and he bade the eldest of the ambassadors seat himself upon it. This man was named Akouphis: and he was so much struck with the splendid courtesy of Alexander, that he asked him what his countrymen must do, in order to make him their friend. Alexander replied that they must make Akouphis their chief, and send a hundred of their best men to him. Upon this Akouphis laughed, and answered: "I shall rule them better, O King, if I send the worst men to you and not the best."

LIX. There was one Taxiles,† who was said to be king of a part of India as large as Egypt, with a rich and fertile soil. He was also a shrewd man, and came and embraced Alexander, saying, "Why should we two fight one another, Alexander, since you have not come to take away from us the water which we drink nor the food which we eat; and these are the only things about which it is worth while for sensible men to fight? As for all other kinds of property, if I have more than you, I am willing to bestow it upon you, or, if you are the richer, I would willingly be placed in your debt by receiving some from you." Alexander was delighted with these

* Probably Cabul or Ghuznee. The whole geography of Alexander's Asiatic campaigns will be found most exhaustively discussed in Grote's 'History of Greece,' part ii. ch. xcii., s. 99.

† The same name occurs in the Life of Sulla, c. 15, and Life of Lucullus, c. 26.

words, and giving him his right hand as a pledge of his friendship exclaimed, "Perhaps you suppose that by this arrangement we shall become friends without a contest; but you are mistaken, for I will contend with you in good offices, and will take care that you do not overcome me." Saying thus, they exchanged presents, amongst which Alexander gave Taxiles a thousand talents of coined money. This conduct of his greatly vexed his friends; but caused him to be much more favourably regarded by many of the natives.

After this, Alexander, who had suffered great losses from the Indian mercenary troops who flocked to defend the cities which he attacked, made a treaty of alliance with them in a certain town, and afterwards, as they were going away set upon them while they were on the road and killed them all. This is the greatest blot upon his fame; for in all the rest of his wars, he always acted with good faith as became a king. He was also much troubled by the philosophers who attended him, because they reproached those native princes who joined him, and encouraged the free states to revolt and regain their independence. For this reason, he caused not a few of them to be hanged.

LX. His campaign against king Porus is described at length in his own letters. He tells us that the river Hydaspes* ran between the two camps, and that Porus with his elephants watched the further bank, and prevented his crossing. Alexander himself every day caused a great noise and disturbance to be made in his camp, in order that the enemy might be led to disregard his movements: and at last upon a dark and stormy night he took a division of infantry and the best of the cavalry, marched to a considerable distance from the enemy, and crossed over into an island of no great extent. Here he was exposed to a terrible storm of rain, with thunder and lightning; but, although several of his men were struck dead, he pressed on, crossed the island, and gained the furthest bank of the river. The Hydaspes was flooded by the rain, and the stream ran fiercely down this second branch, while the Macedonians could with difficulty keep

The river Jhelum in the Punjab.

their footing upon this slippery and uneven bottom. Here it was that Alexander is said to have exclaimed, "O ye Athenians, what toils do I undergo to obtain your praise."

This, however, rests only on the authority of the historian Oneskritus, for Alexander himself relates that they abandoned their rafts, and waded through this second torrent under arms, with the water up to their breasts. After crossing, he himself rode on some twenty furlongs in advance of the infantry, thinking that if the enemy met him with their cavalry alone, he would be able to rout them easily, and that, if they advanced their entire force, before a battle could be begun, he would be joined by his own infantry. And indeed he soon fell in with a thousand horse and sixty war chariots of the enemy, which he routed, capturing all the chariots, and slaying four hundred of the horsemen. Porus now perceived that Alexander himself had crossed the river, and advanced to attack him with all his army, except only a detachment which he left to prevent the Macedonians from crossing the river at their camp. Alexander, alarmed at the great numbers of the enemy, and at their elephants, did not attack their centre, but charged them on the left wing, ordering Koinus to attack them on the right. The enemy on each wing were routed, but retired towards their main body, where the elephants stood. Here an obstinate and bloody contest took place, insomuch that it was the eighth hour of the day before the Indians were finally overcome. These particulars we are told by the chief actor in the battle himself, in his letters. Most historians are agreed that Porus stood four cubits* and a span high, and was so big a man that when mounted on his elephant, although it was a very large one, he seemed as well proportioned to the animal as an ordinary man is to a horse. This elephant showed wonderful sagacity and care for its king, as while he was still vigorous it charged the enemy and overthrew them, but when it perceived that he was fainting from his wounds, fearing that he might fall, it

* A cubit is the space from the point of the elbow to that of the little finger: a span is the space one can stretch over with the thumb and the little finger.

quietly knelt on the ground, and then gently drew the spears out of his body with its trunk. When Porus was captured, Alexander asked him how he wished to be treated. "Like a king," answered Porus. Alexander then enquired if he had nothing else to ask about his treatment. "Everything," answered Porus, "is comprised in these words, like a king." Alexander now replaced Porus in his kingdom, with the title of satrap, and also added a large province to it, subduing the independent inhabitants. This country was said to have contained fifteen separate tribes, five thousand considerable cities and innumerable villages; besides another district three times as large, over which he appointed Philippus, one of his personal friends, to be satrap.

LXI. After this battle with Porus, Alexander's horse Boukephalus died, not immediately, but some time afterwards. Most historians say that he died of wounds received in the battle, but Onesikritus tells us that he died of old age and overwork, for he had reached his thirtieth year. Alexander was greatly grieved at his loss, and sorrowed for him as much as if he had lost one of his most intimate friends. He founded a city as a memorial of him upon the banks of the Hydaspes, which he named Boukephalia. It is also recorded that when he lost a favourite dog called Peritas, which he had brought up from a whelp, and of which he was very fond, he founded a city and called it by the dog's name. The historian Sotion tells us that he heard this from Potamon of Lesbos.

LXII. The battle with King Porus made the Macedonians very unwilling to advance farther into India. They had overcome Porus with the greatest difficulty, as he brought against them a force of twenty thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, and now offered the most violent opposition to Alexander, who wished to cross the river Ganges. This river, they heard, was thirty-two furlongs wide and a hundred cubits deep, while its further banks were completely covered with armed men, horses and elephants, for it was said that the kings of the Gandaritæ and Præsiæ were awaiting his attack with an army of eighty thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand foot soldiers, eight thousand war chariots, and six thousand elephants; nor was this any exaggeration, for not long

afterwards Androkottus, the king of this country, presented five hundred elephants to Seleukus, and overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of six hundred thousand men.

Alexander at first retired to his tent in a rage, and shut himself up there, not feeling any gratitude to those who had prevented his crossing the Ganges, but regarding a retreat as an acknowledgment of defeat. However, after his friends had argued with him, and his soldiers had come to the door of his tent, begging him with tears in their eyes to go no farther, he relented, and gave orders for a retreat. He now contrived many ingenious devices to impress the natives, as, for instance, he caused arms, and bridles and mangers for horses to be made of much more than the usual size, and left them scattered about. He also set up altars, which even to the present day are revered by the kings of the Præsiæ, who cross the river to them, and offer sacrifice upon them in the Greek fashion. Androkottus himself, who was then a lad, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander might easily have conquered the whole country, as the then king was hated by his subjects on account of his mean and wicked disposition.

LXIII. After this, Alexander wishing to see the outer ocean,* caused many rafts and vessels managed with oars to be built, and proceeded in a leisurely manner down the Indus. His voyage, however, was not an idle one, nor was it unaccompanied with danger, for as he passed down the river, he disembarked, attacked the tribes on the banks, and subdued them all. When he was among the Malli, who are said to be the most warlike tribe in India, he very nearly lost his life. He was besieging their chief city, and after the garrison had been driven from the walls by volleys of missiles, he was the first man to ascend a scaling ladder and mount the walls. The ladder now broke, so that no more could mount, and as the enemy began to assemble inside at the foot of the wall and shoot up at him from below, Alexander, alone against a host, leaped down amongst them, and by good luck,

* As distinguished from the Mediterranean. The ancients gave the name of ocean to the sea by which they believed that their world was surrounded.

alighted on his feet. His armour rattled loudly as he leaped, and made the natives think that a bright light was emitted from his body; so that at first they gave way and fled from him. But when they saw that he was attended by only two followers, some of them attacked him at close quarters with swords and spears, while one standing a little way off shot an arrow at him with such force and with such good aim, that it passed through his corslet and imbedded itself in the bones of his breast. As he shrank back when the arrow struck him, the man who had shot it ran up to him with a drawn sword in his hand. Peukestas and Limnæus now stood before Alexander to protect him. Both were wounded, Limnæus mortally; but Peukestas managed to stand firm, while Alexander despatched the Indian with his own hand. Alexander was wounded in many places, and at last received a blow on the neck with a club, which forced him to lean his back against the wall, still facing the enemy. The Macedonians now swarmed round him, snatched him up just as he fainted away, and carried him insensible to his tent. A rumour now ran through the camp that he was dead, and his attendants with great difficulty sawed through the wooden shaft of the arrow, and so got off his corslet. They next had to pluck out the barbed head of the arrow, which was firmly fixed in one of his ribs. This arrow-head is said to have measured four fingers-breadths * in length, and three in width. When it was pulled out, he swooned away, so that he nearly died, but at length recovered his strength. When he was out of danger, though still very weak, as he had to keep himself under careful treatment for a long time, he heard a disturbance without, and learning that the Macedonians were anxious to see him, took his cloak and went out to them. After sacrificing to the gods for the recovery of his health, he started again on his journey, and passed through a great extent of country and past many considerable cities, all of which he subdued.

* δάκτυλος, the shortest Greek measure, a finger's breadth, about $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch. The modern Greek seamen measure the distance of the sun from the horizon by fingers' breadths. Newton's 'Halicarnassus.' (Liddell & Scott, s. v.)

LXIV. He captured ten of the Indian philosophers called *Gymnosophistæ*,* who had been instrumental in causing *Sabbas* to revolt, and had done much mischief to the Macedonians. These men are renowned for their short, pithy answers, and Alexander put difficult questions to all of them, telling them that he would first put to death the man who answered him worst, and then rest in order. The first was asked, whether he thought the living or the dead to be the more numerous. He answered, "The living, for the dead are not."

The second was asked, which breeds the largest animals the sea or the land. He answered, "The land, for the sea is only a part of it."

The third was asked, which is the cleverest of beasts. He answered, "That which man has not yet discovered."

The fourth was asked why he made *Sabbas* rebel. He answered, "Because I wished him either to live or to die with honour."

The fifth was asked, which he thought was first, the day or the night. He answered, "The day was first, by one day." As he saw that the king was surprised at this answer, he added, "impossible questions require impossible answers."

Alexander now asked the sixth how a man could make himself most beloved. He answered, "By being very powerful, and yet not feared by his subjects."

7 Of the remaining three, the first one was asked, how a man could become a god. He answered, "By doing that which is impossible for a man to do."

8 The next was asked, which was the stronger, life or death. He answered, "Life, because it endures such terrible suffering."

9 The last, being asked how long it was honourable for a man to live, answered, "As long as he thinks it better for him to live than to die."

Upon this Alexander turned to the judge and asked

* So called from their habit of going entirely naked. One of them is said by Arrian to have said to Alexander. "You are a man like all of us, Alexander—except that you abandon your home like a meddlesome destroyer, to invade the most distant regions; enduring hardships yourself, and inflicting hardships on others." (Arrian, vii. 1, 8.)

him to pronounce his decision. He said that they had answered each one worse than the other. "Then," said Alexander, "you shall yourself be put to death for having given such a verdict." "Not so," said he, "O king, unless you mean to belie your own words, for you said at the beginning that you would put to death him who gave the worst answer."

LXV. Alexander now gave them presents and dismissed them unhurt. He also sent Onesikritus to the most renowned of them, who lived a life of serene contemplation, desiring that they would come to him. This Onesikritus was a philosopher of the school of Diogenes the cynic. One of the Indians, named Kalanus, is said to have received him very rudely, and to have proudly bidden him to take off his clothes and speak to him naked, as otherwise he would not hold any conversation with him, even if he came from Zeus himself. Dandamis, another of the Gymnosophists, was of a milder mood, and when he had been told of Sokrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, said that they appeared to him to have been wise men, but to have lived in too great bondage to the laws. Other writers say that Dandamis said nothing more than "For what purpose has Alexander come all the way hither?" However, Taxiles persuaded Kalanus to visit Alexander. His real name was Sphines: but as in the Indian tongue he saluted all he met with the word 'Kale' the Greeks named him Kalanus. This man is said to have shown to Alexander a figure representing his empire, in the following manner. He flung on the ground a dry, shrunken hide, and then trod upon the outside of it, but when he trod it down in one place, it rose up in all the others. He walked all round the edge of it, and showed that this kept taking place until at length he stepped into the middle, and so made it all lie flat. This image was intended to signify that Alexander ought to keep his strength concentrated in the middle of his empire, and not wander about on distant journeys.

LXVI. Alexander's voyage down the Indus and its tributaries, to the sea-coast, took seven months. On reaching the ocean he sailed to an island which he himself called Skillustis, but which was generally known as

Psiltukis. Here he landed and sacrificed to the gods, after which he explored the sea and the coast as far as he could reach. Having done this, he turned back, after praying to the gods that no conqueror might ever transcend this, the extreme limit of his conquests. He ordered his fleet to follow the line of the coast, keeping India on their right hand: and he gave Nearchus the supreme command, with Onesikritus as chief pilot. He, himself, marched through the country of the Oreitæ, where he endured terrible sufferings from scarcity of provisions, and lost so many men that he scarcely brought back home from India the fourth part of his army, which originally amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. Most of the men perished from sickness, bad food, and the excessive heat of the sun, and many from sheer hunger, as they had to march through an uncultivated region, inhabited only by a few miserable savages, with a stunted breed of cattle whose flesh had acquired a rank and disagreeable taste through their habit of feeding on sea-fish.

After a terrible march of sixty days, the army passed through this desert region, and reached Gedrosia, where the men at once received abundant supplies of food, which were furnished by the chiefs of the provinces which they entered.

LXVII. After he had refreshed his troops here for a little, Alexander led them in a joyous revel for seven days through Karmania.* He, himself, feasted continually, night and day, with his companions, who sat at table with him upon a lofty stage drawn by eight horses, so that all men could see them. After the king's equipage followed numberless other waggons, some with hangings of purple and embroidered work, and others with canopies of green boughs, which were constantly renewed, containing the rest of Alexander's friends and officers, all

* To recompense his soldiers for their recent distress, the king conducted them for seven days in drunken bacchanalian procession through Karmania, himself and all his friends taking part in the revelry; an imitation of the jovial festivity and triumph with which the god Dionysus had marched back from the conquest of India. (Grote's 'History of Greece,' part ii. ch. xciv.)

crowned with flowers and drinking wine. There was not a shield, a helmet, or a pike, to be seen, but all along the road the soldiers were dipping cups, and horns, and earthenware vessels into great jars of liquor and drinking one another's healths, some drinking as they marched along, while others sat by the roadside. Everywhere might be heard the sound of flutes and pipes, and women singing and dancing; while with all this dissolute march the soldiers mingled rough jokes, as if the god Dionysus himself were amongst them and attended on their merry procession. At the capital of Gedrosia, Alexander again halted his army, and refreshed them with feasting and revelry. It is said that he himself, after having drunk hard, was watching a contest between several choruses, and that his favourite Bagoas won the prize, and then came across the theatre and seated himself beside him, dressed as he was and wearing his crown as victor. The Macedonians, when they saw this, applauded vehemently, and cried out to Alexander to kiss him, until at length he threw his arms round him and kissed him.

LXVIII. He was now much pleased at being joined by Nearchus and his officers, and took so much interest in their accounts of their voyage, that he wished to sail down the Euphrates himself with a great fleet, and then to coast round Arabia and Libya, and so enter the Mediterranean sea through the pillars of Herakles.* He even began to build many ships at Thapsakus, and to collect sailors and pilots from all parts of the world, but the severe campaigns which he had just completed in India, the wound which he had received among the Malli, and the great losses which his army had sustained in crossing the desert, had made many of his subjects doubt whether he was ever likely to return alive, and had encouraged them to revolt, while his absence had led many of his satraps and viceroys to act in an extremely arbitrary and despotic manner, so that his whole empire was in a most critical condition, and full of conspiracies and seditious risings. Olympias and Kleopatra† had attacked and driven out Antipater, and had divided the kingdom

* The straits of Gibraltar.

† Her daughter, Alexander's sister.

between themselves, Olympias taking Epirus, and Kleopatra Macedonia. When Alexander heard this, he said that his mother had proved herself the wiser of the two; for the Macedonians never would endure to be ruled by a woman. He now sent Nearchus back to the sea, determining to make war all along the coast, and coming down in person to punish the most guilty of his officers. He killed Oxyartes, one of the sons of Abouletes (the satrap of Susiana) with his own hands, with a sarissa or Macedonian pike. Abouletes had made no preparations to receive Alexander, but offered him three thousand talents of silver. Alexander ordered the money to be thrown down for the horses; and as they could not eat it, he said "What is the use of your having prepared this for me?" and ordered Abouletes to be cast into prison.

LXIX. While Alexander was in Persis* he first renewed the old custom that whenever the king came there he should give every woman a gold piece. On account of this custom we are told that many of the Persian kings came but seldom to Persis, and that Ochus never came at all, but exiled himself from his native country through his niggardliness. Shortly afterwards Alexander discovered that the sepulchre of Cyrus had been broken into, and put the criminal to death, although he was a citizen of Pella† of some distinction, named Polemarchus. When he had read the inscription upon the tomb, he ordered it to be cut in Greek letters also. The inscription ran as follows: "O man, whosoever thou art, and whencesoever thou comest—for I know that thou shalt come—I am Cyrus, who won the empire for the Persians. I pray thee, do not grudge me this little earth that covereth my body." These words made a deep impression upon Alexander, and caused him to meditate upon the uncertainty and changefulness of human affairs. About this time, Kalanus, who had for some days been suffering from some internal disorder, begged that a funeral pile might be erected for him. He rode up to it on horseback, said

* The district known to the ancients as Persis or Persia proper, corresponds roughly to the modern province of Fars. Its capital city was Persepolis, near the modern city of Schiraz.

† The capital of Macedonia, Alexander's native city.

a prayer, poured a libation for himself and cut off a lock of his own hair, as is usual at a sacrifice, and then, mounting the pile, shook hands with those Macedonians who were present, bidding them be of good cheer that day, and drink deep at the king's table. He added, that he himself should shortly see the king at Babylon. Having spoken thus he lay down and covered himself over. He did not move when the fire reached him, but remained in the same posture until he was consumed, thus sacrificing himself to the gods after the manner of the Indian philosophers. Many years afterwards another Indian, a friend of Cæsar, did the like in the city of Athens; and at the present day his sepulchre is shown under the name of "the Indian's tomb."

LXX. After Alexander left the funeral pyre, he invited many of his friends and chief officers to dinner, and offered a prize to the man who could drink most unmixed wine. Promachus, who won it, drank as much as four choes.* He was presented with a golden crown worth a talent, and lived only three days afterwards. Of the others, Chares, the historian, tells us that forty-one died of an extreme cold that came upon them in their drunkenness.

Alexander now celebrated the marriage of many of his companions at Susa. He himself married Statira, the daughter of Darius, and bestowed the noblest of the Persian ladies upon the bravest of his men. He gave a splendid banquet on the occasion of his marriage, inviting to it not only all the newly married couples, but all those Macedonians who were already married to Persian wives. It is said that nine thousand guests were present at this feast, and that each of them was presented with a golden cup to drink his wine in. Alexander entertained them in all other respects with the greatest magnificence, and even paid all the debts of his guests, so that the whole expense amounted to nine thousand eight hundred and seventy talents. On this occasion, Antigenes the one-eyed got his name inscribed on the roll as a debtor, and produced a man who said that he was his creditor. He received the amount of his alleged debt, but his deceit

* χοῦς, a liquid measure containing 12 κοτύλαι of 5·46 pints apiece.

was afterwards discovered by Alexander, who was much enraged, banished him from his court, and took away his command. This Antigenes was a very distinguished soldier. When Philip, was besieging Perinthus, Antigenes, who was then very young, was struck in the eye with a dart, and would not allow his friends to pull it out, nor leave the fight, before he had driven back the enemy into the city. He now was terribly cast down at his disgrace, and made no secret of his intention of making away with himself. The king, fearing that he would carry out his threat, pardoned him, and permitted him to keep the money.

LXXI. Alexander was much pleased with the appearance of the three thousand youths whom he had left to be trained in the Greek manner, who had now grown into strong and handsome men, and showed great skill and activity in the performance of military exercises; but the Macedonians were very discontented, and feared that their king would now have less need for them. When Alexander sent those of them who were sick or maimed back to the sea coast, they said that it was disgraceful treatment that he should send these poor men home to their country and their parents in disgrace, and in worse case than when they set out, after he had had all the benefit of their services. They bade him send them all home, and regard them all as unserviceable, since he had such a fine troop of young gallants at his disposal to go and conquer the world with. Alexander was much vexed at this. He savagely reproached the soldiers, dismissed all his guards, and replaced them with Persians, whom he appointed as his body-guards and chamberlains. When the Macedonians saw him attended by these men, and found themselves shut out from his presence, they were greatly humbled, and after discussing the matter together they became nearly mad with rage and jealousy. At last they agreed to go to his tent without their arms, dressed only in their tunics, and there with weeping and lamentation offered themselves to him and bade him deal with them as with ungrateful and wicked men. Alexander, although he was now inclined to leniency, refused to receive them, but they would not go away, and remained

for two days and nights at the door of his tent lamenting and calling him their sovereign. On the third day he came out, and when he saw them in such a pitiable state of abasement, he wept for some time. He then gently blamed them for their conduct, and spoke kindly to them. He gave splendid presents to all the invalids, and dismissed them, writing at the same time to Antipater with orders, that in every public spectacle these men should sit in the best places in the theatre or the circus with garlands on their heads. The orphan children of those who had fallen he took into his own service.

LXXII. After Alexander was come to the city of Ekbatana in Media, and had despatched the most weighty part of his business there, he gave himself up entirely to devising magnificent spectacles and entertainments, with the aid of three thousand workmen, whom he had sent for from Greece. During this time, Hephæstion fell sick of a fever, and being a young man, and accustomed to a soldier's life, did not put himself upon a strict diet and remain quiet as he ought to have done. As soon as Glaukus, his physician, left him to go to the theatre, he ate a boiled fowl for his breakfast, and drank a large jar of cooled wine. Upon this he was immediately taken worse, and very shortly afterwards died.

Alexander's grief for him exceeded all reasonable measure. He ordered the manes of all the horses and mules to be cut off in sign of mourning, he struck off the battlements of all the neighbouring cities, crucified the unhappy physician, and would not permit the flute or any other musical instrument to be played throughout his camp, until a response came from the oracle of Ammon bidding him honour Hephæstion and offer sacrifice to him as to a hero.* To assuage his grief he took to war, and found consolation in fighting and man-hunting. He conquered the tribe called Kossæi, and slew their entire male population, which passed for an acceptable offering to the manes of Hephæstion. He now determined to spend ten thousand talents† on the funeral and tomb of Hephæstion ;

* The Greek word hero means a semi-divine personage, who was worshipped, though with less elaborate ritual than a god.

† £2,300,000. Grote, following Diodorus, raises the total even

and as he wished to exceed the cost by the ingenuity and brilliancy of invention shown in this spectacle, he chose Stasikrates out of all his mechanicians to arrange it, as he was thought to be able both to devise with grandeur and to execute with skill.

He on one occasion before this, when conversing with Alexander, told him that of all mountains in the world Mount Athos in Thrace was that which could most easily be carved into the figure of a man; and that, if Alexander would give him the order, he would form Athos into the most magnificent and durable monument of him that the world had ever seen, as he would represent him as holding in his left hand the city of Myriandrus, and with his right pouring, as a libation, a copious river into the sea. Alexander would not, indeed, adopt this suggestion, but was fond of discussing much more wonderful and costly designs than this with his engineers.

LXXIII. Just as Alexander was on the point of starting for Babylon, Nearchus, who had returned with his fleet up the Euphrates, met him, and informed him that some Chaldæans had warned Alexander to avoid Babylon. He took no heed of this warning, but went his way. When he drew near the walls he saw many crows flying about and pecking at one another, some of whom fell to the ground close beside him. After this, as he heard that Apollodorus, the governor of Babylon, had sacrificed to the gods to know what would happen to Alexander, he sent for Pythagoras, the soothsayer, who had conducted the sacrifice, to know if this were true. The soothsayer admitted that it was, on which Alexander inquired what signs he had observed in the sacrifice. Pythagoras answered that the victim's liver wanted one lobe. "Indeed!" exclaimed Alexander, "that is a terrible omen." He did Pythagoras no hurt, but regretted that he had not listened to the warning of Nearchus, and spent most of his time in his camp outside the walls of Babylon, or in boats on the river Euphrates. Many unfavourable omens now depressed his spirit. A tame ass attacked and kicked to death the finest and largest lion that he kept; and one day, as he higher, to twelve thousand talents, or £2,760,000. "History of Greece," part ii. ch. xciv.

stripped to play at tennis, the young man with whom he played, when it was time to dress again, saw a man sitting on the king's throne, wearing his diadem and royal robe. For a long time this man refused to speak, but at length said that he was a citizen of Messene, named Dionysius, who had been brought to Babylon and imprisoned on some charge or other, and that now the god Serapis had appeared to him, loosed his chains, and had brought him thither, where he had bidden him to put on the king's diadem and robe, seat himself on his throne, and remain silent.

LXXIV. When Alexander heard this, he caused the man to be put to death, according to the advice of his soothsayers; but he himself was much cast down, and feared that the gods had forsaken him: he also grew suspicious of his friends. Above all he feared Antipater and his sons, one of whom, Iolas, was his chief cup-bearer, while the other, Kassander, had but recently arrived from Greece, and as he had been trained in the Greek fashion, and had never seen any Oriental customs before, he burst into a loud, insolent laugh, when he saw some of the natives doing homage to Alexander. Alexander was very angry, and seizing him by the hair with both hands, beat his head against the wall. Another time he stopped Kassander, when he was about to say something to some men who were accusing his father, Antipater. "Do you imagine" said he, "that these men would have journeyed so far merely in order to accuse a man falsely, if they had not been wronged by him?" When Kassander answered, that it looked very like a false accusation for a man to journey far from the place where his proofs lay, Alexander said with a laugh, "This is how Aristotle teaches his disciples to argue on either side of the question; but if any of you be proved to have wronged these men ever so little, you shall smart for it." It is related that after this, terror of Alexander became so rooted in the mind of Kassander, that many years afterwards, when Kassander was king of Macedonia, and lord of all Greece, he was walking about in Delphi looking at the statues, and that when he saw that of Alexander he was seized with a violent shuddering; his hair stood upright on his head,

and his body quaked with fear, so that it was long before he regained his composure.

LXXV. After Alexander had once lost his confidence and become suspicious and easily alarmed, there was no circumstance so trivial that he did not make an omen of it, and the palace was full of sacrifices, lustrations, and soothsayers. So terrible a thing is disbelief in the gods and contempt for them on the one hand, while superstition and excessive reverence for them presses on men's guilty consciences like a torrent of water* poured upon them. Thus was Alexander's mind filled with base and cowardly alarms. However when the oracular responses of the gods about Hephæstion were reported to him, he laid aside his grief somewhat, and again indulged in feasts and drinking bouts. He entertained Nearchus and his friends magnificently, after which he took a bath, and then, just as he was going to sleep, Medius invited him to a revel at his house. He drank there the whole of the following day, when he began to feel feverish: though he did not drink up the cup of Herakles at a draught, or suddenly feel a pain as of a spear piercing his body, as some historians have thought it necessary to write, in order to give a dramatic fitness and dignity to the end of so important a personage. Aristobulus tells us that he became delirious through fever, and drank wine to quench his thirst, after which he became raving mad, and died on the thirtieth day of the month Daisius.

LXXVI. In his own diary his last illness is described thus: "On the eighteenth day of Daisius he slept in the bath-room, because he was feverish. On the following day after bathing he came into his chamber and spent the day playing at dice with Medius. After this he bathed late in the evening, offered sacrifice to the gods, dined, and suffered from fever during the night. On the twentieth he bathed and sacrificed as usual, and while reclining in his bath-room he conversed with Nearchus and his friends, listening to their account of their voyage, and of the Great Ocean. On the twenty-first he did the same, but his fever grew much worse, so that he suffered much

* The Greek text here is corrupt. I have endeavoured to give what appears to have been Plutarch's meaning.

during the night, and next day was very ill. On rising from his bed he lay beside the great plunge-bath, and conversed with his generals about certain posts which were vacant in his army, bidding them choose suitable persons to fill them. On the twenty-fourth, although very ill, he rose and offered sacrifice; and he ordered his chief officers to remain near him, and the commanders of brigades and regiments to pass the night at his gate. On the twenty-fifth he was carried over the river to the other palace, and slept a little, but the fever did not leave him. When his generals came to see him he was speechless, and remained so during the twenty-fifth, so that the Macedonians thought that he was dead. They clamoured at his palace gates, and threatened the attendants until they forced their way in. When the gates were thrown open they all filed past his bed one by one, dressed only in their tunics. On this day Python and Seleukus, who had been to the temple of Serapis, enquired whether they should bring Alexander thither. The god answered that they must leave him alone. The eight and twentieth day of the month, towards evening, Alexander died."

LXXVII. Most of the above is copied, word for word, from Alexander's household diary. No one had any suspicion of poison at the time; but it is said that six years after there appeared clear proof that he was poisoned, and that Olympias put many men to death, and caused the ashes of Iolas, who had died in the mean time, to be cast to the winds, as though he had administered the poison to Alexander.

Some writers say that Antipater was advised by Aristotle to poison Alexander, and inform us that one Hagnothemis declared that he had been told as much by Antipater; and that the poison was as cold as ice, and was gathered like dew, from a certain rock near the city of Nonakris, and preserved in the hoof of an ass: for no other vessel could contain it, because it is so exceedingly cold and piercing. Most historians, however, think that the whole story of Alexander's being poisoned was a fiction; and this view is strongly supported by the fact, that as Alexander's generals began to fight one another immediately after his death, his body lay for many days

unheeded, in hot and close rooms, and yet showed no signs of decay, but remained sweet and fresh. Roxana, who was pregnant, was regarded with great respect by the Macedonians and being jealous of Statira, she sent her a forged letter, purporting to come from Alexander and asking her to come to him. When Statira came, Roxana killed both her and her sister, cast their bodies down a well, and filled up the well with earth. Her accomplice in this crime was Perdikkas, who on the death of Alexander at once became a very powerful man. He sheltered his authority under the name of Arrhidæus, who became the nominal, while Perdikkas was the virtual king of Macedonia. This Arrhidæus was the son of Philip by a low and disreputable woman named Philinna, and was half-witted in consequence of some bodily disorder with which he was afflicted. This disease was not congenital nor produced by natural causes, for he had been a fine boy and showed considerable ability, but Olympias endeavoured to poison him, and destroyed his intellect by her drugs.

LIFE OF C. CÆSAR.

L.* When Sulla got possession of the supreme power, he confiscated the marriage portion of Cornelia† the daughter of Cinna‡ who had once enjoyed the supremacy in Rome, because he could not either by promises or threats induce Cæsar to part with her. The cause of the enmity between Cæsar and Sulla was Cæsar's relationship to Marius; for the elder Marius was the husband of Julia the sister of Cæsar's father, and Julia was the mother of the younger Marius, who was consequently Cæsar's cousin. Cæsar was not content with being let alone by Sulla, who

* It has been remarked by Niebuhr (*Lectures on the History of Rome*, ii. 33) that the beginning of the Life of Cæsar is lost. He says, "Plutarch could not have passed over the ancestors, the father, and the whole family, together with the history of Cæsar's youth, &c." But the reasons for this opinion are not conclusive. The same reason would make us consider other lives imperfect, which are also*deficient in such matters. Plutarch, after his fashion, gives incidental information about Cæsar's youth and his family. I conceive that he purposely avoided a formal beginning; and according to his plan of biography, he was right. Niebuhr also observes that the beginning of the Life of Cæsar in Suetonius is imperfect; "a fact well known, but it is only since the year 1812, that we know that the part which is wanting contained a dedication to the præfectus prætorio of the time, a fact which has not yet found its way into any history of Roman Literature." It is an old opinion that the Life of Cæsar in Suetonius is imperfect. The fact that the dedication alone is wanting, for so Niebuhr appears to mean, shows that the Life is not incomplete, and there is no reason for thinking that it is.

C. Julius Cæsar, the son of C. Julius Cæsar and Aurelia, was born on the twelfth of July, B.C. 100, in the sixth consulship of his uncle C. Marius. His father, who had been prætor, died suddenly at Pisa when his son was in his sixteenth year.

† See the Life of Pompeius, c. 9, and notes.

‡ Cæsar was first betrothed to Cossutia, the daughter of a rich Roman Eques, but he broke off the marriage contract, and married Cornelia. B.C. 83.

was at first fully occupied with the proscriptions and other matters, but he presented himself to the people as a candidate for a priesthood,* though he had hardly arrived at man's estate. But Sulla by his opposition contrived to exclude him from this office, and even thought of putting him to death; and when some observed that there was no reason in putting to death such a youth, Sulla observed, that they had no sense if they did not see many Marii in this boy. These words were conveyed to Cæsar, who thereupon concealed himself by wandering about for some time in the Sabine country. On one occasion when he was changing his place of abode on account of sickness, he fell in by night with the soldiers of Sulla who were scouring those parts and seizing on those who were concealed. But Cæsar got away by giving Cornelius,† who was in command of the soldiers, two talents, and going straightway down to the coast he took ship and sailed to Bithynia to King Nicomedes,‡ with whom he stayed no long time. On his voyage from Bithynia, he was captured near the island Pharmacusa § by pirates, || who at that time were in possession of the seas with a powerful force and numerous ships.

II. The pirates asked Cæsar twenty talents for his ransom, on which he laughed at them for not knowing who their prize was, and he promised to give them fifty talents. While he dispatched those about him to various

* A different story is told by Suetonius (*Cæsar*, c. 1), and Velleius Paterculus (ii. 43).

† Cornelius Phagita (Suetonius, c. 1, 74.)

The words of Sulla are also reported by Suetonius (c. 1).

‡ Nicomedes III. Cæsar was sent to him by Thermus to get ships for the siege of Mitylene. Suetonius, a lover of scandal, has preserved a grievous imputation against Cæsar, which is connected with this visit to Nicomedes (*Cæsar*, c. 2, 49). Cæsar in a speech for the Bithynians (Gellius, v. 13) calls Nicomedes his friend. He felt the reproach keenly, and tried to clear himself (Dion Cassius, 43, c. 20). But it is easier to make such charges than to confute them.

M. Minucius Thermus, Proprætor. Cæsar served his first campaign under him at the siege and capture of Mitylene B.C. 80. Cæsar gained a civic crown. See the note in Burmann's edition of Suetonius.

§ This island was near Miletus. Stephan. Byzant., *Φαρμακούσσα*.

|| See the Life of Pompeius, c. 26. Cæsar served a short time against the Cilician pirates under P. Servilius Isauricus (Sueton. *Cæsar*, 2) B.C. 77, or perhaps later.

cizies to raise the money, he was left with one friend and two attendants among these Cilician pirates, who were notorious for their cruelty, yet he treated them with such contempt that whenever he was lying down to rest, he would send to them and order them to be quiet. He spent eight and thirty days among them, not so much like a prisoner as a prince surrounded by his guards, and he joined in their sports and exercises with perfect unconcern. He also wrote poems and some speeches which he read to them, and those who did not approve of his compositions he would call to their faces illiterate fellows and barbarians, and he would often tell them with a laugh that he would hang them all. The pirates were pleased with his manners, and attributed this freedom of speech to simplicity and a mirthful disposition. As soon as the ransom came from Miletus and Cæsar had paid it and was set at liberty, he manned some vessels in the port of Miletus and went after the pirates, whom he found still on the island, and he secured most of them. All their property he made his booty; but the pirates, he lodged in prison at Pergamum, and then went to Junius,* who, as governor of the provinces of Asia, was the proper person to punish the captives. But as the governor was casting a longing eye on the booty, which was valuable, and said he would take time to consider about the captives, Cæsar without more ado, left him and going straight to Pergamum took all the pirates out of prison and crucified them, as he had often told them he would do in the island when they thought he was merely jesting.

III. Sulla's power was now declining, and Cæsar's friends in Rome recommended him to return. However, he first made a voyage to Rhodus in order to have the instruction of Apollonius the son of Molon,† of whom Cicero also was a hearer. This Apollonius was a

* He was now in Bithynia according to Vell. Paternulus (ii. 42). This affair of the pirates happened according to Drumann in B.C. 76. Plutarch places it five years earlier.

† Plutarch should probably have called him only Molo. He was a native of Alabanda in Caria. Cicero often mentions his old master, but always by the name of Molo only. He calls the rhetorician, who was the master of Q. Mucius Scaevola, consul B.C. 137. Apollonius, who was also a native of Alabanda.

distinguished rhetorician, and had the reputation of being a man of a good disposition. Cæsar is said to have had a great talent for the composition of discourses on political matters, and to have cultivated it most diligently, so as to obtain beyond dispute the second rank; his ambition to be first in power and arms, made him from want of leisure give up the first rank, to which his natural talents invited him, and consequently his attention to military matters and political affairs by which he got the supreme power, did not allow him to attain perfection in oratory. Accordingly at a later period, in his reply to Cicero about Cato,* he deprecates all comparison between the composition of a soldier and the eloquence of an accomplished orator who had plenty of leisure to prosecute his studies.

IV. On his return to Rome he impeached † Dolabella ‡ for maladministration in his province, and many of the cities of Greece gave evidence in support of the charge. Dolabella, indeed, was acquitted; but to make some return to the Greeks for their zeal in his behalf, Cæsar assisted them in their prosecution of Publius Antonius § for corruption before Marcus Lucullus, the governor of Macedonia; and his aid was so effectual that Antonius appealed to the tribunes, alleging that he had not a fair trial in Greece with the Greeks for his accusers. At Rome Cæsar got a brilliant popularity by aiding at trials with his eloquence; and he gained also much good will by his agreeable mode of saluting people and his pleasant manners, for he was more attentive to please than persons usually are at that age. He was also gradually acquiring political influence by the splendour of his entertainments and his table and of his general mode of living. At first

* See c. 54.

† See the first chapter of the Life of Lucullus.

‡ On Cornelius Dolabella, consul B.C. 81, afterwards was governor of Macedonia as proconsul, in which office he was charged with maladministration. Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 71, 92) mentions this trial. Drumann places it in B.C. 77. Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 72) gives his opinion of the eloquence of Cæsar. (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 4; Vell. Paternulus, ii. 42.)

§ His name was Caius. He was consul B.C. 63 with Cicero. The trial, which was in B.C. 76, of course related to misconduct prior to that date. The trial was not held in Greece. M. Lucullus was the brother of L. Lucullus, and was Prætor in Rome at the time of the trial.

those who envied him, thinking that when his resources failed his influence would soon go, did not concern themselves about his flourishing popularity: but at last when his political power had acquired strength and had become difficult to overthrow and was manifestly tending to bring about a complete revolution, they perceived that no beginnings should be considered too small to be capable of quickly becoming great by uninterrupted endurance and having no obstacle to their growth by reason of being despised. Cicero, who is considered to have been the first to suspect and to fear the smiling surface * of Cæsar's policy, as a man would the smiling smoothness of a sea, and who observed the bold and determined character which was concealed under a friendly and joyous exterior, said that in all his designs and public measures he perceived a tyrannical purpose; "but on the other hand," said he, "when I look at his hair, which is arranged with so much care, and see him scratching his head with one finger,† I cannot think that such a wicked purpose will ever enter into this man's mind as the overthrow of the Roman State." This, however, belongs to a later period.

V. He received the first proof of the good will of the people towards him when he was a competitor against Caius Popilius for a military tribuneship,‡ and was proclaimed before him. He received a second and more conspicuous evidence of popular favour on the occasion of the death of Julia § the wife of Marius, when Cæsar, who was her nephew, pronounced over her a splendid funeral oration in the Forum, and at the funeral ventured to exhibit the images|| of Marius, which were then seen for the first time

* Some amplification is necessary here in order to preserve Plutarch's metaphor. He was fond of such poetical turns.

Nec poterat quemquam placidi pellacia ponti
Subdola pellicore in fraudem ridentibus undis.

Lucretius, v. 1002.

† See the Life of Pompeius, c. 48.

‡ The military tribunes, it appears, were now elected by the people, or part of them at least. Comp. Liv. 43, c. 14.

§ His aunt Julia and his wife Cornelia died during his quæstorship, probably B.C. 68.

|| The Roman word is *Imagines*. There is a curious passage about

since the administration of Sulla, for Marius and his son had been adjudged enemies. Some voices were raised against Cæsar on account of this display, but the people responded by loud shouts, and received him with clapping of hands, and admiration, that he was bringing back as from the regions of Hades, after so long an interval, the glories of Marius to the city. Now it was an ancient Roman usage to pronounce funeral orations* over elderly women, but it was not customary to do it in the case of young women, and Cæsar set the first example by pronouncing a funeral oration over his deceased wife, which brought him some popularity and won the many by sympathy to consider him a man of a kind disposition and full of feeling. After the funeral of his wife he went to Iberia as quæstor to the Prætor Vetus,† for whom he always showed great respect, and whose son he made his own quæstor when he filled the office of Prætor. After his quæstorship he married for his third wife Pompeia‡: he had by his wife Cornelia a daughter, who afterwards married Pompeius Magnus. Owing to his profuse expenditure (and indeed men generally supposed that he was buying at a great cost a short-lived popularity, though in fact he was purchasing things of the highest value at a low price) it is said that before he attained any public office he was in debt to the amount of thirteen hundred talents. Upon being appointed curator of the Appian Road,§ he laid out upon it a large sum of his own; and

the Roman Imagines in Polybius (vi. 53, ed. Bekker)—“Viginti clarissimarum familiarum imagines antelatae sunt.” Tacit. *Annal.* iii. 76.

* The origin of this custom with respect to women is told by Livius (5. c. 50). It was introduced after the capture of the city by the Gauls, as a reward to the women for contributing to the ransom demanded by the enemy.

† Antistius Vetus (Vell. Paternulus, ii. 18) was Prætor of the division of Iberia which was called Bætica. His son C. Antistius Vetus was Quæstor B.C. 61 under Cæsar in Iberia.

‡ She was a daughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus, the son-in-law of Sulla, who lost his life B.C. 88, during the consulship of his father. See the Life of Sulla, c. 6. notes. The daughter who is here mentioned was Julia, Cæsar's only child.

§ This was the road from Rome to Capua, which was begun by the Censor Appius Claudius Cæcus B.C. 312, and afterwards continued to

during his ædileship* he exhibited three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators, and by his liberality and expenditure on the theatrical exhibitions, the processions, and the public entertainments, he completely drowned all previous displays, and put the people in such a humour, that every man was seeking for new offices and new honours to requite him with.

VI. There were at this time two parties in the State, that of Sulla, which was all-powerful, and that of Marius, which was cowed and divided and very feeble. It was Cæsar's object to strengthen and gain over the party of Marius, and accordingly, when the ambitious splendour of his ædileship was at its height, he had images of Marius secretly made, and triumphal Victories, which he took by night and set up on the Capitol. At daybreak the people seeing the images glittering with gold, and exquisitely laboured by art (and there were inscriptions also which declared the Cimbrian victories of Marius), were in admiration at the boldness of him who had placed them there, for it was no secret who it was, and the report quickly circulating through the city, brought everybody to the spot to see. Some exclaimed that Cæsar had a design to make himself tyrant, which appeared by his reviving those testimonials of honour which had been buried in the earth by laws and decrees of the senate, and that it was done to try if the people, who were already tampered with, were tamed to his purpose by his splendid exhibitions, and would allow him to venture on such tricks and innovations. But the partisans of Marius, encouraging one another, soon collected in surprising numbers, and filled the Capitol with their noise. Many also shed tears of joy at seeing the likeness of Marius, and Cæsar was highly extolled as the only man worthy to be a kinsman of Marius. The senate being assembled about these matters, Catulus Lutatius, who had at that time the greatest name of any man in Rome, got up, and charging Cæsar, uttered that Brundisium. It commenced at Rome and ran in nearly a direct line to Terracina across the Pomptine marshes.

The appointment as commissioner (curator) for repairing and making roads was an office of honour, and one that gave a man the opportunity of gaining popular favour.

* Cæsar was Curule Ædile B.C. 65.

memorable expression: "Cæsar, no longer are you taking the state by underground approaches, but by storming engines." Cæsar spoke in reply to this charge, and satisfied the senate, on which his admirers were still more elated, and urged him not to abate of his pretensions for any one: with the favour of the people, they said, he would soon get the better of all, and be the first man in the State.

VII. About this time Metellus,* the Pontifex Maximus, died, and though Isauricus and Catulus were candidates for the priesthood, which was a great object of ambition, and were men of the highest rank and greatest influence in the senate, Cæsar would not give way to them, but he presented himself to the people as a competitor. The favour of the people appearing equally divided, Catulus, as the more distinguished candidate, being more afraid of the uncertainty of the event, sent and offered Cæsar a large sum of money if he would retire from his canvass; but Cæsar replied that he would stand it out even if he had to borrow still more. On the day of the election, his mother, with tears, accompanied him to the door, when Cæsar embracing her, said, "Mother, to-day you shall see your son either Pontifex Maximus, or an exile." After the voting was over, which was conducted with great spirit, Cæsar prevailed, a circumstance which alarmed the senate and the nobles, who feared that he would lead on the people to the boldest measures. Accordingly, Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero for having spared Cæsar, who, in the matter of Catiline's† conspiracy, had given him a

* Q. Metellus Pius, Consul B.C. 80. Cæsar's competitors were P. Servilius Isauricus, consul B.C. 79, under whom Cæsar had fought against the pirates, and Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul B.C. 78, the son of the Catulus whom Marius put to death. Cæsar was already a Pontifex, but the acquisition of the post of Pontifex Maximus, which places him at the head of religion, was an object of ambition to him in his present position. The office was for life, it brought him an official residence in the Via Sacra, and increased political influence.

† The conspiracy of Catiline happened B.C. 63, when Cicero was consul. See the Life of Cicero, c. 10, &c. Sallustius (*Catilina*, c. 51, &c.) has given the speeches of Cæsar and Cato in the debate upon the fate of the conspirators who had been seized. If we have not the words of Cæsar, there is no reason for supposing that we have not the substance of his speech. Whatever might be Cæsar's object, his proposal

handle. Now Catiline designed not only to alter the form of government, but to subvert the whole Commonwealth and throw all into confusion, but he was ejected from the city on being convicted of some minor charges, and before the extent of his designs was discovered. He left behind him in the city Lentulus and Cethegus, to carry his plans into execution. It is uncertain if Cæsar secretly lent them any countenance and aid, but when they were completely convicted in the senate, and Cicero the consul put it to each senator to give his opinion on their punishment, all who spoke declared for death till it came to Cæsar's turn to speak. Cæsar rose and delivered a studied oration, to the effect that it was not consistent with the constitution, nor was it just to put to death without a trial men distinguished for their high character and their family, unless there was the most urgent necessity; and he added that, if they were imprisoned in the Italian cities which Cicero himself might choose, until the war against Catiline was brought to an end, the senate might have time to deliberate on the case of each prisoner when peace was restored.

VIII. This proposal appeared so humane, and was supported by so powerful a speech, that not only those who rose after Cæsar sided with him, but many of those who had already spoken changed their opinions and went over to that of Cæsar, till it came to the turn of Cato and Catulus to speak. After they had made a vigorous opposition, and Cato in his speech had also urged suspicious matter against Cæsar and strongly argued against him, the conspirators were handed over to the executioner, and as Cæsar was leaving the Senate many of the young men who then acted as a guard to Cicero, crowded together and threatened Cæsar with their naked swords.* But

was consistent with law and a fair trial. The execution of the conspirators was a violent and illegal measure.

* This circumstance is mentioned by Sallustius (*Catilina*, 49), apparently as having happened when Cæsar was leaving the Senate, after one of the debates previous to that on which it was determined to put the conspirators to death. Sallustius mentions Catulus and C. Piso as the instigators. He also observes that they had tried to prevail on Cicero to criminate Cæsar by false testimony. (See Drumann, *Tullii*, § 40, p. 531.)

Curio * is said to have thrown his toga round Cæsar, and to have carried him off; and Cicero also, when the young men looked to him, is said to have checked them by a motion, either through fear of the people or because he thought that the death of Cæsar would be most unjust and a violation of law. If this is true, I cannot conceive why Cicero said nothing about it in the book on his Consulship;† but Cicero was blamed afterwards for not having taken advantage of so favourable an opportunity to get rid of Cæsar, and for having feared the people, who were extravagantly attached to Cæsar. And indeed a few days after, when Cæsar had gone to the Senate and defended himself in a speech against the imputations that had been cast on him, and his speech was received with loud marks of disapprobation and the sitting of the Senate was lasting longer than usual, the people came with loud cries and surrounded the Senate-house calling for Cæsar and bidding the Senate let him go. Accordingly, Cato apprehending danger mainly from some movement of the needy part of the people, who were like a firebrand among the rest of the citizens, as they had all their hopes in Cæsar, prevailed* on the Senate to give them a monthly allowance of corn, which produced an addition to the rest of the expenditure of seven millions‡ five hundred thousands. However, the immediate alarm was manifestly quenched by this measure, which snapped off the best part of Cæsar's influence and scattered it, at a time when he was going

* C. Scribonius Curio, consul B.C. 76, father of the Curio mentioned in the Life of Pompeius, c. 58, who was a tribune B.C. 50.

† Cicero wrote his book on his Consulship B.C. 60, in which year Cæsar was elected consul, and it was published at that time. Cæsar was then rising in power, and Cicero was humbled. It would be as well for him to say nothing on this matter which Plutarch alludes to (*Ad Attic.* ii. 1).

Cicero wrote first a prose work on his consulship in Greek (*Ad Attic.* i. 19), and also a poem in three books in Latin hexameters (*Ad Attic.* ii. 3).

‡ Attic drachmæ, as usual with Plutarch, when he omits the denomination of the money. In his Life of Cato (c. 26) Plutarch estimates the sum at 1250 talents. This impolitic measure of Cato tended to increase an evil that had long been growing in Rome, the existence of a large body of poor who looked to the public treasury for part of their maintenance. (See the note on the Life of Caius Gracchus, c. 5.)

to enter on his office of Prætor which made him more formidable.

IX. No tumults occurred in Cæsar's Prætorship,* but a disagreeable incident happened in his family. Publius Clodius,† a man of Patrician rank, was distinguished both by wealth and eloquence, but in arrogance and impudence he was not inferior to the most notorious scoundrels in Rome. Clodius was in love with Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, and Pompeia was in no way averse to him. But a strict watch was kept over the woman's apartment, and Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, who was a prudent woman, by always observing Pompeia, made it difficult and hazardous for the lovers to have an interview. Now the Romans have a goddess whom they call Bona, as the Greeks have a Gynæceia. The Phrygians, who claim this goddess, say she was the mother of King Midas; the Romans say she was a Dryad and the wife of Faunus; but the Greeks say she is one of the mothers of Dionysus, whose name must not be uttered; and this is the reason why they cover the tents with vine-leaves during the celebration of her festival, and a sacred serpent sits by the goddess according to the mythus. No man is allowed to approach the festival, nor to be in the house during the celebration of the rites; but the women by themselves are said to perform many rites similar to the Orphic in the celebration. Accordingly when the season of the festival is come, the husband, if he be consul or prætor, leaves the house and every male also quits it; and the wife taking possession

* Cæsar was Prætor B.C. 62. He was Prætor designatus in December B.C. 63, when he delivered his speech on the punishment of Catiline's associates.

† Some notice of this man is contained in the Life of Lucullus, c. 34, 38, and the Life of Cicero, c. 29. The affair of the Bona Dea, which made a great noise in Rome, is told very fully in Cicero's letters to Atticus (i. 12, &c.), which were written at the time.

The feast of the Bona Dea was celebrated on the first of May, in the house of the Consul or of the Prætor Urbanus. There is some further information about it in Plutarch's Romanæ Quæstiones (ed. Wyttienbach, vol. ii.). According to Cicero (*De Haruspicum Responsis*, c. 17), the real name of the goddess was unknown to the men; and Dacier considers it much to the credit of the Roman ladies that they kept the secret so well. For this ingenious remark I am indebted to Kaltwasser's citation of Dacier; I have not had curiosity enough to look at Dacier's notes.

of the house makes all arrangements, and the chief ceremonies are celebrated by night, the evening festival being accompanied with mirth and much music.

X. While Pompeia* was now celebrating this festival, Clodius, who was not yet bearded, and for this reason thought that he should not be discovered, assumed the dress and equipment of a female lute-player and went to the house looking just like a young woman. Finding the door open, he was safely let in by a female slave who was in the secret, and who forthwith ran off to tell Pompeia. As there was some delay and Clodius was too impatient to wait where the woman had left him, but was rambling about the house, which was large, and trying to avoid the lights, Aurelia's waiting-woman, as was natural for one woman with another, challenged him to a little mirthful sport, and as he declined the invitations, she pulled him forward and asked who he was and where he came from. Clodius replied that he was waiting for Abra the maid of Pompeia, for that was the woman's name, but his voice betrayed him, and the waiting-woman ran with a loud cry to the lights and the rest of the company, calling out that she had discovered a man. All the women were in the greatest alarm, and Aurelia stopped the celebration of the rites and covered up the sacred things: she also ordered the doors to be closed and went about the house with the lights to look for Clodius. He was discovered lurking in the chamber of the girl who had let him in, and on being recognised by the women was turned out of doors. The women went straightway, though it was night, to their husbands to tell them what had happened; and as soon as it was day, the talk went through Rome of the desecration of the sacred rites by Clodius, and how he ought to be punished for his behaviour, not only to the persons whom he had insulted, but to the city and the gods. Accordingly one of the tribunes instituted a prosecution against Clodius for an offence against religion, and the most powerful of the senators combined against him, charging him, among other abominations, with adultery with his sister, who was the wife of Lucullus. The people set themselves in opposition to their exertions and supported

* The divorce of Pompeia is mentioned by Cicero (*Ad Attic.* i. 18).

Clodius, and were of great service to him with the judices, who were terror-struck and afraid of the people. Cæsar immediately divorced Pompeia, and when he was summoned as a witness on the trial, he said he knew nothing about the matters that Clodius was charged with. This answer appearing strange, the accuser asked him, "Why have you put away your wife?" to which Cæsar replied, "Because I considered that my wife ought not even to be suspected." Some say that this was the real expression of Cæsar's opinion, but others affirm that it was done to please the people who were bent on saving Clodius. However this may be, Clodius was acquitted, for the majority of the judices gave in their votes* written confusedly, that they might run no risk from the populace by convicting Clodius nor lose the good opinion of the better sort by acquitting him.

XI. On the expiration of his Prætorship, Cæsar received Iberia† for his province, but as he had a difficulty about arranging matters with his creditors, who put obstructions in the way of his leaving Rome, and were clamorous, he applied to Crassus, then the richest man in Rome, who stood in need of the vigour and impetuosity of Cæsar to support him in his political hostility to Pompeius. Crassus undertook to satisfy the most importunate and unrelenting of the creditors, and having become security for Cæsar to the amount of eight hundred and thirty talents, thus enabled him to set out for his province. There is a story that as Cæsar was crossing the Alps, he passed by a small barbarian town which had very few inhabitants and was a miserable place, on which his companions jocosely observed, "They did not suppose there were any contests

* Clodius was tried B.C. 61, and acquitted by a corrupt jury (judices). (See Cicero, *Ad Attic.* i. 16.) Kultwasser appears to me to have mistaken this passage. The judices voted by ballot, which had been the practice in Rome in such trials since the passing of the *Lex Cassia* B.C. 137. Drumann remarks (*Geschichte Roms*, Claudii, p. 214, note) that Plutarch has confounded the various parts of the procedure at the trial; and it may be so. See the *Life of Cicero*, c. 23. There is a dispute as to the meaning of the term *Judicia Populi*, to which kind of *Judicia* the *Lex Cassia* applied. (Orelli, *Onomasticon*, *Index Legum*, p. 279.)

† Cæsar was Prætor (B.C. 60) of *Hispania Ulterior* or *Bætica*, which included *Lusitania*.

for honors in such a place as that, and struggles for the first rank and mutual jealousy of the chief persons:" on which Cæsar earnestly remarked, "I would rather be the first man here than the second at Rome." Again in Spain, when he had some leisure and was reading the history of Alexander,* he was for a long time in deep thought, and at last burst into tears; and on his friends asking the reason of this, he said, "Don't you think it is a matter for sorrow, that Alexander was king of so many nations at such an early age, and I have as yet done nothing of note?"

XII. However, as soon as he entered Iberia, he commenced active operations and in a few days raised ten cohorts in addition to the twenty which were already there, and with this force marching against the Calaici† and Lusitani he defeated them, and advanced to the shores of the external sea, subduing the nations which hitherto had paid no obedience to Rome. After his military success, he was equally fortunate in settling the civil administration by establishing friendly relations among the different states, and particularly by healing the differences between debtors and creditors; ‡ for which purpose he determined that the creditor should annually take two-thirds of the debtor's income, and that the owner should take the other third, which arrangement was to continue till the debt was paid. By these measures he gained a good reputation, and he retired from the province with the acquisition of a large fortune, having enriched his soldiers also by his campaigns and been saluted by them Imperator.

XIII. As it was the law at Rome that those who were

* A similar story is told by Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 7) and Dion Cassius (37. c. 52), but they assign it to the time of Cæsar's quæstorship in Spain.

† The Calaici, or Callaici, or Gallæci, occupied that part of the Spanish peninsula which extended from the Douro north and north-west to the Atlantic. (Strabo, p. 152.) The name still exists in the modern term Gallica. D. Junius Brutus, consul B.C. 138, and the grandfather of one of Cæsar's murderers, triumphed over the Callaici and Lusitani, and obtained the name Callaicus. The transactions of Cæsar in Lusitania are recorded by Dion Cassius (37. c. 52).

‡ Many of the creditors were probably Romans. (Velleius Pat. ii. 13, and the Life of Lucullus, c. 7.)

soliciting a triumph should stay outside the city, and that those who were candidates for the consulship should be present in the city, Cæsar finding himself in this difficulty, and having reached Rome just at the time of the consular elections, sent to the senate to request permission to offer himself to the consulship in his absence through the intervention of his friends. Cato at first urged the law in opposition to Cæsar's request, but seeing that many of the senators had been gained over by Cæsar, he attempted to elude the question by taking advantage of time and wasting the day in talking, till at last Cæsar determined to give up the triumph and to secure the consulship. As soon as he entered the city, he adopted a policy which deceived everybody except Cato; and this was the bringing about of a reconciliation between Pompeius and Crassus, the two most powerful men in Rome, whom Cæsar reconciled from their differences, and centering in himself the united strength of the two by an act that had a friendly appearance, changed the form of government without its being observed. For it was not, as most people suppose, the enmity of Cæsar and Pompeius which produced the civil wars, but their friendship rather, inasmuch as they first combined to depress the nobility and then quarrelled with one another. Cato, who often predicted what would happen, at the time only got by it the character of being a morose, meddling fellow, though afterwards he was considered to be a wise, but not a fortunate adviser.

XIV. Cæsar,* however, supported on both sides by the friendship of Crassus and Pompeius, was raised to the consulship and proclaimed triumphantly with Calpurnius Bibulus for his colleague. Immediately upon entering on his office he proposed enactments more suitable to the most turbulent tribune than a consul, for in order to please the populace he introduced measures for certain allotments and divisions of land.† But he met with

* Cæsar was consul B.C. 59.

† The measure was for the distribution of Public land (Dion Cassius, 38. c. 1, &c. &c.) and it was an Agrarian Law. The law comprehended also the land about Capua (Campanus ager). Twenty thousand Roman citizens were settled on the allotted lands (Vell. Pater. ii. 44; Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 10). Cicero, who was writing to Atticus at the time,

opposition in the Senate from the good and honourable among them, and as he had long been looking for a pretext, he exclaimed with solemn adjurations, that he was driven against his will to court the favour of the people by the arrogance and obstinacy of the Senate, and accordingly he hurried to the popular assembly and placing Crassus on one side of him and Pompeius on the other, he asked them if they approved of his legislative measures. Upon their expressing their approbation, he entreated them to give him their aid against those who threatened to oppose him with their swords. Pompeius and Crassus promised their assistance, and Pompeius added, that he would oppose swords with sword and shield. The nobility were annoyed at hearing such mad, inconsiderate words drop from Pompeius, which were unbecoming his own character and the respect that he owed to the Senate; but the people were delighted. Cæsar, whose secret design it was to secure the influence of Pompeius still more, gave him to wife his daughter Julia,* who was already betrothed to Servilius Cæpio; and he promised Cæpio that he should have the daughter of Pompeius, though she also was not disengaged, being betrothed to Faustus, the son of Sulla. Shortly after Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, and got Piso named consul for the next year, though Cato in this matter also strongly protested and exclaimed that it was an intolerable thing for the chief power to be prostituted by marriage bargains and that they should help one another

mentions this division of the lands as an impolitic measure. It left the Romans without any source of public income in Italy except the *Vicesimæ* (*Ad Attic.* ii. 16, 18).

The Romans, who were fond of jokes and pasquinades against those who were in power, used to call the consulship of Cæsar, the consulship of Caius Cæsar and Julius Cæsar, in allusion to the inactivity of Bibulus, who could not resist his bolder colleague's measures. (*Diou Cassius*, 38. c. 8.)

* The marriage with Pompeius took place in Cæsar's consulship. *Life of Crassus*, c. 16.

This Servilius Cæpio appears to be Q. Servilius Cæpio, the brother of Servilia, the mother of M. Junius Brutus, one of Cæsar's assassins. Servilius Cæpio adopted Brutus, who is accordingly sometimes called Q. Cæpio Brutus. (*Cicero, Ad Divers.* vii. 21: *Ad Attic.* ii. 24.) Piso was L. Calpurnius Piso, who with Aulus Gabinius was consul a.c. 58.

by means of women, to provinces and armies and political power. Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague, found it useless to oppose Cæsar's measures, and he and Cato several times narrowly escaped with their lives in the Forum, whereupon Bibulus shut himself up at home for the remainder of his consulship. Immediately after his marriage Pompeius filled the Forum with armed men, and supported the people in passing Cæsar's laws and in giving him for five years Gaul on both sides of the Alps with the addition of Illyricum and four legions. Upon Cato's venturing to speak against these measures, Cæsar ordered him to be carried off to prison, thinking that he would appeal to the tribunes. But Cato went off without speaking a word; and Cæsar observing that the nobles were much annoyed at this, and the people also through respect for Cato's virtue were following him in silence and with downcast eyes, secretly asked one of the tribunes to release Cato. Very few of the senators used to accompany Cæsar to the Senate, but the majority not liking his measures stayed away. Considius,* who was a very old man, observed that the senators did not come because they were afraid of the arms and the soldiers. "Why don't you then stay at home for the same reason?" replied Cæsar, to which Considius rejoined, "My age makes me fearless, for the little of life that remains for me is not worth much thought." The most scandalous public measure in Cæsar's consulship was the election as tribune of that † Clodius who had dishonoured Cæsar's wife and violated the mysterious nocturnal rites. But he was elected in order to ruin Cicero, and Cæsar did not set out

* Q. Considius Gallus. He is mentioned by Cicero several times in honourable terms (*Ad Attic.* ii. 24).

† Cicero went into exile B.C. 58. See the Life of Cicero, c. 30.

Dion Cassius (38. c. 17) states that Cæsar was outside of the city with his army, ready to march to his province, at the time when Clodius proposed the bill of penalties against him. Cicero says the same (*Pro Sestio*, c. 18). Cæsar, according to Dion, was not in favour of the penalties contained in the bill; but he probably did not exert himself to save Cicero. Pompeius, who had presided at the comitia in which Clodius was adrogated into a Plebeian family, in order to qualify him to be a tribune, treated Cicero with neglect (*Life of Pompeius*, c. 46). Cæsar owed Cicero nothing. Pompeius owed him much. And Cicero deserved his punishment.

for his province till with the aid of Clodius he had put down Cicero by his cabals and driven him out of Italy.

XV. Such is said to have been the course of Cæsar's life before his Gallic campaigns.* But the period of his wars which he afterwards fought and his expedition by which he subdued Gaul, is just like a new beginning in his career and the commencement of a new course of life and action, in which he showed himself as a soldier and a general inferior to none who have gained admiration as leaders and been the greatest men: for whether we compare Cæsar's exploits with those of the Fabii, Scipios, and Metelli, or with those of his contemporaries or immediate predecessors, Sulla and Marius and both the Luculli or even Pompeius himself, whose fame, high as the heavens, was blossoming at that time in every kind of military virtue, Cæsar will be found to surpass them all—his superiority over one appearing in the difficulties of the country in which he carried on his campaigns, over another in the extent of country subdued, over a third in the number and courage of the enemy whom he defeated, over another again in the savage manners and treacherous character of the nations that he brought to civility, over a fourth in his clemency and mildness to the conquered, over another again in his donations and liberality to his soldiers; and in fine his superiority over all other generals appears by the numbers of battles that he fought and of enemies that he slew. For in somewhat less than ten years during which he carried on his campaign in Gaul he took by storm above eight hundred cities, and subdued three hundred nations, and fought with three millions of men at different times, of whom he destroyed one million in battle and took as many prisoners.

XVI.† So great were the good-will and devotion of

* Cæsar's Gallic campaign began B.C. 58.

He carried on the war actively for eight years, till the close of B.C. 51. But he was still proconsul of Gallia in the year B.C. 50. Plutarch has not attempted a regular narrative of Cæsar's campaigns, which would have been foreign to his purpose (see the Life of Alexander, c. 1); nor can it be attempted in these notes. The great commander has left in his Commentary on the Gallic War an imperishable record of his subjugation of Gaul.

† Plutarch here, after his fashion, throws in a few anecdotes without any regard to the chronological order. *

Cæsar's soldiers to him, that those who under other generals were in no way superior to ordinary soldiers, were invincible and irresistible and ready to meet any danger for Cæsar's glory. An instance of this is Acilius, who in the sea-fight of Massalia* boarded one of the enemy's ships and had his right hand cut off with a sword, but he still kept hold of his shield with the left hand and striking at the faces of the enemy drove all to flight and got possession of the vessel. Another instance was Cassius Scæva,† who in the fight at Dyrrachium had one eye destroyed by an arrow, his shoulder transfixcd with one javelin and his thigh with another, and on his shield he had received the blows of one hundred and thirty missiles. In this plight he called to the enemy as if he designed to surrender himself, and two of them accordingly approached him, but with his sword he lopped off one man's shoulder and wounding the other in the face, put him to flight, and finally he escaped himself with the aid of his friends. In Britannia on one occasion the natives had attacked the foremost centurions who had got into a marshy spot full of water, upon which, in the presence of Cæsar who was viewing the contest, a soldier rushed into the midst of the enemy, and after performing many conspicuous acts of valour, rescued the centurions from the barbarians, who took to flight. The soldier, with difficulty attempting to cross after all the rest, plunged into the muddy stream, and with great trouble and the loss of his shield, sometimes swimming, sometimes walking, he got safe over. While those who were about Cæsar were admiring his conduct and coming to receive him with congratulations and shouts, the soldier, with the greatest marks of dejection and tears in his eyes, fell down at Cæsar's feet and begged pardon for the loss of his shield.

* Massalia, an ancient Greek settlement, now Marseilles, was called Massilia by the Romans. The siege of Massalia is told by Cæsar (*Civil War*, ii. 1, &c.). It took place after Pompeius had fled from Brundisium.

† The story of Scæva is told by Cæsar (*Civil War*, iii. 53). The missiles were arrows. As to the exact number of arrows that the brave centurion Scæva received in his shield, see the note in Oudendorp's Cæsar. Scæva was promoted to the first class of centurions (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 68).

Again, in Libya, Scipio's party having taken one of Cæsar's ships in which was Granius Petro, who had been appointed quæstor, made booty of all the rest, but offered to give the quæstor his life; but he replying that it was the fashion with Cæsar's soldiers to give and not to accept mercy, killed himself with his own sword.

XVII. This courage and emulation Cæsar cherished and created, in the first place by distributing rewards and honours without stint, and thus showing that he did not get wealth from the enemy for his own enjoyment and pleasure, but that it was treasured up with him as the common reward of courage, and that he was rich only in proportion as he rewarded deserving soldiers; and in the next place by readily undergoing every danger and never shrinking from any toil. Now they did not so much admire Cæsar's courage, knowing his love of glory; but his endurance of labour beyond his body's apparent power of sustaining it, was a matter of astonishment, for he was of a spare habit, and had a white and soft skin, and was subject to complaints in the head and to epileptic fits, which, as it is said, first attacked him at Corduba;* notwithstanding all this, he did not make his feeble health an excuse for indulgence, but he made military service the means of his cure, by unwearied journeying, frugal diet, and by constantly keeping in the open air and enduring fatigue, struggling with his malady and keeping his body proof against its attacks. He generally slept in chariots or in litters, making even his repose a kind of action; and in the daytime he used to ride in a vehicle to the garrisons, cities and camps, with a slave by his side, one of those who were expert at taking down what was dictated on a journey, and a single soldier behind him armed with a sword. He used to travel so quick that on his first journey from Rome he reached the Rhodanus† in

* Cordoba or Cordova in Hispania Bætica. Cæsar must therefore have been subject to these attacks during his quæstorship, or at least his prætorship in Spain.

Of Cæsar's endurance and activity, Suetonius also (*Cæsar*, 57) has preserved several notices.

† Kaltwasser translates this: "He travelled with such speed that he did not require more than eight days to reach the Rhone after

eight days. From his boyhood he was a good horseman, for he had been accustomed to place his hands behind him and, holding them close together on his back, to put the horse to his full speed. In that campaign he also practised himself in dictating letters as he was riding and thus giving employment to two scribes, and as Oppius * says, to more. He is said also to have introduced the practice of communicating with his friends by letters, as there was no time for personal interviews on urgent affairs, owing to the amount of business and the size of the city. This anecdote also is cited as a proof of his indifference as to diet. On one occasion when he was entertained at supper by his host Valerius Leo † in Mediolanum, asparagus was served up with myrum poured on it instead of oil, which Cæsar ate without taking any notice of it, and reproved his friends who were out of humour on the occasion. "You should be content," he said, "not to eat what you don't like; but to find fault with your host's ill-breeding is to be as ill-bred as himself." Once upon a journey he was compelled by a storm to take shelter in a poor man's hut, which contained only a single chamber and that hardly large enough for one person, on which he observed to his friends that the post of honour must be given to the worthiest and the place of safety to the weakest; and he bade Oppius lie down while he and the rest slept in the porch.

XVIII. Cæsar's first Gallic campaign was against the Helvetii ‡ and Tigurini, who had burnt their cities, twelve leaving Rome;" as if this was his habit. But Kaltwasser is mistaken.

* See the Life of Pompeius, c. 10.

In the time of Gellius (xvii. 9) there was extant a collection of Cæsar's letters to C. Oppius and Cornelius Balbus, written in a kind of cipher. (See Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 56.) Two letters of Cæsar to Oppius and Balbus are extant in the collection of Cicero's letters (*Ad Atticum*, ix. 8, 16), both expressed with admirable brevity and clearness. One of them also shows his good sense and his humanity.

† The story is also told by Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 54). Instead of using plain oil, Leo thought he should please his guests by mixing it with a fragrant oil (*conditum oleum pro viridi*). He was an ill-bred fellow for his pains; but a well-bred man would affect not to notice his blunder.

‡ This campaign belongs to B.C. 58. The Helvetii occupied the country between the Rhine, the Jura, the Rhone, and the Rætian

in number, and their villages, of which there were four hundred, and were advancing through that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, like the Cimbri and Teutones of old, to whom they were considered to be not inferior in courage and in numbers equal, being in all three hundred thousand, of whom one hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men. The Tigurini were not opposed by Cæsar in person, but by Labienus, who was sent against them by Cæsar and totally defeated them near the Arar. The Helvetii fell on Cæsar unexpectedly as he was leading his forces to a friendly city, but he succeeded in making his way to a strong position, where he rallied his army and prepared for battle. A horse being brought to him, he said, "I shall want this for the pursuit after I have defeated the enemy; but let us now move on against them;" and accordingly he made the charge on foot. After a long and difficult contest, the Helvetian warriors were driven back, but the hardest struggle was about the chariots and the camp, for the Helvetians made a stand there and a desperate resistance, and also their wives and children, who fought till they were cut to pieces, and the battle was hardly over at midnight. This glorious deed of victory Cæsar followed up by one still better, for he brought together those who had escaped from the battle and compelled them to re-occupy the tract which they had left and to rebuild the cities which they had destroyed; and the number of these was above one hundred thousand. His object in this measure was to prevent the Germans from crossing the Rhenus and occupying the vacant country.

XIX. His next contest was with the Germans and for the immediate defence of the Gauls, although he had before this made an alliance with their king Ariovistus *

Alps. The history of the campaign is given by Cæsar (*Gallie War*, i. 2-29; Dion Cassius, 38, c. 31). The Arar is the Saone, which joins the Rhone at Lyons.

* This German chief had been acknowledged as king and ally (*rex et amicus*) during Cæsar's consulship, B.C. 59. What territory the Romans considered as belonging to his kingdom does not appear. The campaign with Ariovistus and the circumstances which preceded it are told by Cæsar (*Gallie War*, i. 31, &c.).

The speech of Cæsar in which he rated the men for their cowardice

ii. Rome. But the Germans were intolerable neighbours to Cæsar's subjects, and if opportunity offered, it was supposed that they would not remain satisfied with what they had, but would invade and occupy Gaul. Cæsar observing his officers afraid of the approaching contest, and particularly the men of rank and the youths who had joined him in the expectation of finding a campaign with Cæsar a matter of pleasure and profit, called them to a public assembly and bade them leave him and not fight against their inclination since they were so cowardly and effeminate : as for himself he said he would take the tenth legion by itself and lead it against the enemy, knowing that he should not have to deal with a braver enemy than the Cimbri, and that he was not a worse general than Marius. Upon this the tenth legion sent a deputation of their body to thank him, but the rest of the legions abused their own officers, and the whole army, full of impetuosity and eagerness, all followed Cæsar, marching for many days, till they encamped within two hundred stadia of the enemy. The courage of Ariovistus was somewhat broken by the bare approach of the Romans ; for as he had supposed that the Romans would not stand the attack of the Germans, and he never expected that they would turn assailants, he was amazed at Cæsar's daring and he also saw that his own army was disturbed. The spirit of the Germans was still more blunted by the predictions of their wise women, who observing the eddies in the rivers and drawing signs from the whirlings and noise of the waters, foreboded the future and declared that the army ought not to fight before it was new moon. Cæsar hearing of this and perceiving that the Germans were inactive, thought it a good opportunity for engaging with them, while they were out of spirits instead of sitting still and waiting for their time. By attacking their fortifications and the hills on which they were encamped, he irritated the Germans and provoked them to come down in passion and fight. The Germans were

is reported by himself (*Gallio War*, i. 40). The pursuit of the Germans was continued for five miles according to the MSS. of Cæsar ; but some editors in place of 'five' have put 'fifty.' Plutarch's 400 stadia are equal to 50 Roman miles.

completely routed and pursued to the Rhenus a distance of four hundred stadia, and the whole of this space was strewn with dead bodies and arms. Ariovistus with a few escaped across the river. The dead are said to have been eighty thousand in number.

XX. After these exploits he left his forces among the Sequani* to winter, and with the view of attending to what was going on at Rome, came down to Gaul about the Padus, which was a part of his province; for the river Rubico separates the rest of Italy from Gaul beneath the Alps. Fixing his residence there, he carried on his political intrigues, and many persons came to visit him to whom he gave what they asked for; and he dismissed all either with their wishes satisfied, or with hopes. During the whole period of his government in Gaul, he conducted his operations without attracting any attention from Pompeius, though at one time he was subduing the enemy by the arms of the citizens, and at another capturing and subjecting the citizens by the money which he got from the enemy. Hearing that the Belgæ† had risen in arms, who were the most powerful nation of the Gauls and in possession of a third part of all Gaul, and that they had assembled many ten thousands of armed men, he immediately turned about and went against them with all possible expedition; and falling upon the enemy while they were plundering the Gauls who were in alliance with the Romans, he put to flight and destroyed those who were collected in greatest numbers and the chief part of them after an unsuccessful resistance, and such was the slaughter that the Romans crossed the lakes

* Cæsar (*Gallie War*, i. 54). The army wintered in the country between the Jura, the Rhone and Saone, and the Rhine; which was the country of the Sequani. Cæsar says that he went into Citerior Gallia, that is, North Italy, 'ad conventus agendos,' to make his circuits for the administration of justice and other civil business. He may be excused for not saying anything of his political intrigues.

† The rising of the Belgæ is the subject of Cæsar's Second Book. This campaign was in B.C. 57. It was not a rebellion of the Belgæ, for they had not been conquered, but they feared that the Romans would attack them after completing the subjugation of the Galli. The Belgæ were defeated on the Axona, the Aisne, a branch of the Seine (*Gallie War*, ii. 9-11). There is no mention in Cæsar of lakes and rivers being filled with dead bodies.

and deep rivers over the dead bodies. Of the rebels all who dwelt near the ocean surrendered without resistance; but against the fiercest and most warlike of those in these parts, the Nervii,* Cæsar led his forces. The Nervii, who inhabited the dense thickets and had placed their families and property in a deep recess of the forest as far as possible from the enemy, suddenly, to the number of sixty thousand, attacked Cæsar while he was fortifying his camp and not expecting a battle, and they put the Roman cavalry to flight, and surrounding the twelfth and seventh legions, killed all the centurions. If Cæsar had not seized a shield and, making his way through the first ranks, charged the barbarians, and if the tenth legion had not run down from the heights to support him when he was in danger of being overpowered, and broken the ranks of the enemy, it is supposed that not a single Roman would have escaped. Encouraged by Cæsar's intrepidity, the Romans fought, as the saying is, beyond their strength, but yet they could not put the Nervii to flight, who defended themselves till they were cut to pieces. Out of sixty thousand only five hundred are said to have escaped; and three senators out of four hundred.

XXI. The Senate on receiving intelligence of this victory, decreed that for fifteen days† there should be sacrifices to the gods and cessation from all business, with feasting, which had never been done before, for so long a time. For the danger was considered to have been great, so many nations having broken out at once; and because Cæsar was the conqueror, the good will of the many towards him made the victory more splendid. And accordingly, having settled affairs in Gaul, he again spent the winter in the plain of the Padus, and employed himself in intriguing at Rome. Not only the candidates

* The Nervii considered themselves of German origin. They occupied Hainault in Belgium, and the modern cities of Cambray and Tournay in France were within their limits. The Nervii were on the Sabis, the Sambre. Cæsar (ii. 25) speaks of seizing a shield and restoring the battle. Plutarch has taken from Cæsar (c. 29) the amount of the enemy's loss. See Dion Cassius (39, c. 1, &c.)

† "Ob easque res ex litteris Cæsaris dies xv subpublicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli." (Cæsar, *Gallie War*, ii. 35.)

for the offices of the State carried their election by Cæsar supplying them with money which they spent in bribing the people, and directed all their measures to the increase of Cæsar's power, but the greater part of the Romans most distinguished for rank and political power, came to see him at Luca,* Pompeius and Crassus, and Appius, the governor of Sardinia, and Nepos, proconsul of Iberia, so that there were a hundred and twenty lictors there, and more than two hundred senators. Their deliberations resulted in this: it was agreed that Pompeius and Crassus should be made consuls, and that Cæsar should have an allowance of money and five additional years in his province, which to all reflecting people seemed the most extravagant thing of all. For those who were receiving so much from Cæsar, urged the Senate to grant him money as if he had none, or rather compelled the Senate to do it, groaning as it were over its own decrees. Cato, indeed, was not present, for he had been purposely sent out of the way on a mission to Cyprus; and Favonius, who affected to imitate Cato, finding he could do nothing by his opposition, hastily left the Senate and began to clamour to the people. But nobody attended to him, some from fear of displeasing Pompeius and Crassus, but the greater part kept quiet to please Cæsar, living on hopes from him.

XXII. Cæsar again returned to his troops in Gaul where he found much war in the country, for two great German nations had just crossed the Rhenus for the purpose of getting land; the one nation was called Usipes,† and the other Tenteritæ. Respecting the battle with them, Cæsar says in his Commentaries,‡ that the

* See the Life of Crassus, c. 14; Life of Pompeius, c. 51. The meeting at Luca was at the end of B.C. 56, and Plutarch has omitted the campaign of that year, which is contained in Cæsar's Third Book of the Gallic War.

† Cæsar (iv. 1) names them Usipetes and Tenctheri. The events in this chapter belong to B.C. 55, when Cn. Pompeius Magnus and M. Licinius Crassus were consuls for the second time.

‡ Cæsar, iv. c. 12. Plutarch here calls the Commentaries *ἐφημερίδες*, which means a Diary or Day-book. The proper Greek word would be *ὑπομνήματα*. Kaltwasser accordingly concludes that Plutarch appears to have confounded the Ephemerides and the Commentarii, or at least to have used the word *ἐφημερίδες* improperly instead of *ὑπομνήματα*.

barbarians, while they were treating with him during a truce, attacked on their march and so put to flight his own cavalry to the number of five thousand with eight hundred of their own, for his men were not expecting an attack; that they then sent other ambassadors to him intending to deceive him again, whom he detained, and then led his army against the barbarians, considering all faith towards such faithless men and violators of truces to be folly. But Tanusius* says that while the senate were decreeing festivals and sacrifices for the victory, Cato delivered it as his opinion, that they ought to give up Cæsar to the barbarians, and so purge themselves of the violation of the truce on behalf of the city, and turn the curse on the guilty man. Of those who had crossed the river there were slaughtered to the number of four hundred thousand, and the few who recrossed the river were received by the Sugambri,† a German tribe. Cæsar laying hold of this ground of complaint against the Germans, and being also greedy of glory and desirous to be the first man to cross the Rhenus with an army, began to build a bridge over the river, which was very broad, and in this part of the bed spread out widest, and was rough, and ran with a strong current so as to drive the trunks of trees that were carried down and logs of wood against the supports of the bridge,‡ and tear them asunder. But Cæsar

There is no proof that Cæsar kept a diary. That kind of labour is suited to men of a different stamp from him. Plutarch means the *Commentarii*. It is true that Servius (*Ad Æneid.* xi. 743) speaks of a diary (*Ephemeris*) of Cæsar, which records his being once captured by the Gauls. But see the note of Davis on this passage (*Cæsar*. ed. Oudendorp, ii. 999). Suetonius, who enumerates Cæsar's writings (*Cæsar*, 55, 56), mentions no *Ephemeris*. There were abundant sources for anecdotes about Cæsar. The Roman himself wrote as an historian: he was not a diary keeper.

* Tanusius Geminus wrote a history which is mentioned by Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 9). Cato's opinion on this occasion was merely dictated by party hostility and personal hatred. His proposal was unjust and absurd. Cæsar had good reason for writing his *Anticato*.

† Or Sigambri, a German tribe on the east bank of the Lower Rhine. They bordered on the Ubii, and were north of them. The name probably remains in the Sieg, a small stream which enters the Rhine on the east bank, nearly opposite to Bonn.

‡ Cæsar describes the construction of this bridge (iv. 17) without

planted large timbers across the bed of the river above the bridge to receive the trees that floated down, and thus bridling the descending current, beyond all expectation he accomplished the completion of the bridge in ten days.

XXIII. Cæsar now led his troops over the river, no one venturing to oppose him, and even the Suevi, the most valiant of the Germans, retired with their property into deep woody valleys. After devastating with fire the enemy's country and encouraging all those who favoured the Romans, he returned into Gaul after spending eighteen days in Germany. His expedition against the Britanni* was notorious for its daring: for he was

giving any particulars as to the place where it was made. The situation can only be inferred from a careful examination of the previous part of his history, and it has been subject of much discussion, in which opinions are greatly divided. The narratives of Dion Cassius (39. c. 48) and Florus (iii. 10) give some assistance towards the solution of the question. Professor Müller, in an excellent article in the 'Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande' (vii. 1845), has proved that the bridge must have been built near Coblenz. Cæsar defeated the Germans in the angle between the Moselle and the Rhine. He must have crossed the Moselle in order to find a convenient place for his bridge, which he would find near Neuwied. The bridge abutted on the east bank on the territory of the Ubii, who were his friends. The narrative of Cæsar, when carefully examined, admits of no other construction than that which Müller has put upon it; and if there were any doubt, it is removed by Cæsar himself in another passage (*Gallie War*, vi. 9) where he speaks of his second bridge, which gave him a passage from the territory of the Treviri into that of the Ubii, and he adds that the site of the second bridge was near that of the first.

In the *Gallie War* (iv. 15) Cæsar speaks of the junction (*ad confluentem Mosæ et Rheni*) of the Mosa and the Rhine, where Müller assumes that he means the Moselle, as he undoubtedly does. Either the reading Mosa is wrong, or, what is not improbable, both the Moselle and the Maas had the same name, Mosa. Mosella or Mosula is merely the diminution of Mosa. At this confluence of the Moselle and Rhine the town of Coblenz was afterwards built, which retains the ancient name. Cæsar indicates which Mosa he means clearly enough by the words '*ad confluentem*.' There was no '*confluens*' of the Great Mosa and the Rhenus.

* The first expedition of Cæsar to Britain was in the autumn of B.C. 55, and is described in his fourth book of the *Gallie War*, c. 20, &c. He landed on the coast of Kent, either at Deal or between Sandgate and Hythe. His second expedition was in the following year B.C. 54, which is described in the fifth book, c. 8 &c. He crossed the Thamesia

the first who entered the western Ocean with an armament and sailed through the Atlantic sea, leading an army to war; and by attempting to occupy an island of incredible magnitude, which furnished matter for much dispute to numerous writers, who affirmed that the name and the accounts about it were pure inventions, for it never had existed and did not then exist, he extended the Roman supremacy beyond the inhabited world. After twice crossing over to the island from the opposite coast of Gaul, and worsting the enemy in many battles rather than advantaging his own men, for there was nothing worth taking from men who lived so wretched a life and were so poor, he brought the war to a close not such as he wished, but taking hostages from the king and imposing a tribute, he retired from the island. On his return he found letters which were just going to cross

(Thames) in face of the forces of Cassivelaunus, whose territories were bounded on the south by the Thames.

There has been some discussion on the place where Cæsar crossed the Thames. Camden (p. 882, ed. Gibson) fixes the place at Cowey Stakes near Outlands on the Thames, opposite to the place where the Wey joins the Thames. Bede, who wrote at the beginning of the eighth century, speaks of stakes in the bed of the river at that place, which so far corresponds to Cæsar's description, who says that the enemy had protected the ford with stakes on the banks and across the bed of the river. Certain stakes still exist there, which are the subject of a paper in the *Archæologia*, 1735, by Mr. Samuel Gale. The stakes are as hard as ebony; and it is evident from the exterior grain that the stakes were the entire bodies of young oak trees. Cæsar places the ford eighty miles from the coast of Kent where he landed, which distance agrees very well with the position of Outlands, as Camden remarks.

Cassivelaunus had been appointed commander-in-chief of all the British forces. This is the king whom Plutarch means. He agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Romans (*Gullic War*, v. 22), and gave them hostages. Compare Cicero, *Ad Attic.* iv. 17.

Cæsar wrote two letters to Cicero while he was in Britain. He wrote one letter on the 1st of September, which Cicero received on the 28th of September (*Ad Quintum Fratrem*, iii. 1). Cicero here alludes to Cæsar's sorrow for his daughter's death, of which Cæsar had not received intelligence when he wrote to Cicero; but Cicero knew that the news had gone to him. On the 24th of October, Cicero received another letter written from the British coast from Cæsar, and one from his brother Quintus who was with Cæsar. This letter was written on the 26th of September. Cæsar states (*Gullic War*, v. 23) that it was near the time of the equinox when he was leaving Britain.

over to him from his friends in Rome, informing him of his daughter's death, who died in child-birth in the house of her husband Pompeius. Great was the grief of Pompeius, and great was the grief of Cæsar; and their friends were also troubled, as the relationship was now dissolved which maintained peace and concord in the State, which but for this alliance was threatened with disturbance. The child also died after surviving the mother only a few days. Now the people, in spite of the tribunes, carried Julia* to the Field of Mars, where her obsequies were celebrated; and there she lies.

XXIV. As the force of Cæsar was now large, he was obliged to distribute it in many winter encampments. But while he was on his road to Italy, according to his custom, there was another general rising of the Gauls, and powerful armies scouring the country attempted to destroy the winter camps, and attacked the Roman entrenchments. The most numerous and bravest of the revolted Gauls under Abriorix destroyed Cotta† and Titurius with their army; and the legion under Cicero‡ they surrounded with sixty thousand men and blockaded, and they came very near taking the camp by storm, for all the Romans had been wounded and were courageously defending themselves above their strength. When this intelligence reached Cæsar, who was at a distance, he quickly turned about, and getting together seven thousand

* See the Life of Crassus, c. 16, and the Life of Pompeius, c. 53.

† L. Aurunculeius Cotta and Q. Titurius Sabinus were sent into the country of the Eburones, the chief part of which was between the Maas and the Rhine, in the parallels of Namur and Liege. This king, who is called Abriorix, is named Ambiorix by Cæsar (*Gallie War*, 24, &c.) The Gauls, after an unsuccessful attempt on the camp, persuaded the Romans to leave it under a promise that they should have a safe passage through the country of the Eburones. Ambiorix made them believe that there was going to be a general rising of the Gauls, and that their best plan was to make their way to the camp of Q. Cicero or Labienus. When they had left their camp, the Gauls fell upon them in a convenient spot and massacred most of them.

‡ Quintus Cicero was encamped in the country of the Nervii in Hainault. The attack on his camp is described by Cæsar (*Gallie War*, v. 39, &c.) Cæsar says, when he is speaking of his own camp (v. 50), 'Jubet . . . ex omnibus partibus castra altiore vallo muniri portasque obstrui, &c. . . cum simulatione terroris;' of which Plutarch has given the meaning.

men in all, he hurried to release Cicero from the blockade. The besiegers were aware of his approach and met him with the intention of cutting him off at once, for they despised the fewness of his numbers. But Cæsar, deceiving the enemy, avoided them continually, and having occupied a position which was advantageous to one who had to contend against many with a small force, he fortified his camp, and kept his men altogether from fighting; and he made them increase the height of the ramparts and build up the gates as if they were afraid, his manoeuvre being to make the enemy despise him, till at last when they made their assault in scattered bodies, urged by self-confidence, sallying out he put them to flight and killed many of them.

XXV.* The frequent defections of the Gauls in those parts were thus quieted, and also by Cæsar during the winter moving about in all directions and carefully watching disturbances. For there had come to him from Italy three legions to replace those that had perished, Pompeius having lent him two of those which were under his command, and one legion having been newly raised in Gaul upon the Padus. But in the course of time there showed themselves, what had long in secret been planted and spread abroad by the most powerful men among the most warlike tribes, the elements of the greatest and the most dangerous of all the wars in Gaul, strengthened by a numerous body of young men armed and collected from all quarters, and by great stores brought together, and fortified cities, and countries difficult of access. And at that time, during the winter, frozen rivers and forests buried in snow, and plains overflowed by winter torrents, and in some parts paths that could not be discovered for the depth of the snow, and in other parts the great uncertainty of a march through marshes and streams diverted from their course, seemed to place the proceedings of the insurgents altogether beyond any attempt on the part of Cæsar. Accordingly many tribes had revolted, but the leaders of the revolt were the Arvenni and the Car-

* Kaltwasser remarks that Pintarch passes over the events in Cæsar's Sixth Book of the Gallic War, as containing matters of less importance for his purpose

nuntini; Vergentorix was elected to the supreme direction of the war, he whose father the Gauls had put to death on the ground of aiming at a tyranny.

XXVI. Vergentorix,* dividing his force into many parts, and placing over them many commanders, began to gain over all the surrounding country as far as those who bordered on the Arar, it being his design, as Cæsar's enemies in Rome were combining against him, to rouse all Gaul to war. If he had attempted this a little later, when Cæsar was engaged in the civil war, alarms no less than those from the invasion of the Cimbri would have seized on Italy. But now Cæsar, who appears to have had the talent for making the best use of all opportunities in war, and particularly critical seasons, as soon as he heard of the rising, set out on his march, by the very roads† that he traversed, and the impetuosity and rapidity of his march in so severe a winter letting the barbarians see that an invincible and unvanquished army was coming against them. For where no one believed that a messenger or a letter-carrier from him could make his way in a long time, there was Cæsar seen with all his army, at once ravaging their lands, and destroying the forts, taking cities, and receiving those who changed sides and came over to him, till at last even the nation of the Edui‡ declared against him, who up to this time had called themselves brothers of the Romans, and had received signal distinction, but now by joining the insurgents they greatly

* Cæsar (vii 4) calls him Vercingetorix. He was of the nation of the Arverni, whom Plutarch (as his text stands) calls Arvenni in c. 25, and Arveni in c. 26. The Arverni were on the Upper Loire in Auvergne. The Carnunteni, whom Cæsar calls Carnutes, were partly in the middle basin of the same river. Orleans (Genapum) and Chartres (Autricum) were their head-quarters.

† *ταῖς ἀβραῖς ὁδοῖς* in the MSS., which gives no sense. I have adopted Reiske's alteration *ἀβραῖς ταῖς ὁδοῖς*. Cæsar (vii 8) describes his march over the Cevenna, the Cevennes, in winter. He had to cut his road through snow six feet deep. The enemy, who considered the Cevennes as good a protection as a wall, were surprised by his sudden appearance.

‡ So Plutarch writes it. It is *Ædui* in Cæsar's text, or *Hædui*. The *Ædui*, one of the most powerful of the Gallic tribes, were situated between the Upper Loire and the Saone, and possessed the chief part of Burgundy. The Saone separated them from the Sequani on the east.

dispirited Cæsar's troops. In consequence of this, Cæsar moved from those parts, and passed over the territory of the Lingones,* wishing to join the Sequani, who were friends, and formed a bulwark in front of Italy against the rest of Gaul. There the enemy fell upon him and hemmed him in with many ten thousands, upon which Cæsar resolved to fight a decisive battle against the combined forces, and after a great contest, he gained a victory at last, and with great slaughter, routed the barbarians; but at first it appears that he sustained some loss, and the Aruveni show a dagger† suspended in a temple, which they say was taken from Cæsar. Cæsar himself afterwards saw it, and smiled; and when his friends urged him to take it down, he would not, because he considered it consecrated.

XXVII. However, the chief part of those who then escaped, fled with the king to the city of Alesia.‡ And

* The Lingones were on the Vosges, which contain the sources of the Marne and the Moselle. The Saone separated them from the Sequani on the south-east. The account of this campaign is unintelligible in Plutarch. It is contained in Cæsar's Seventh Book.

† A small matter in itself; but if true, a trait in Cæsar's character. Schæfer has the following note: "Aliter facturus erat Cyneus, omnino inferior ille Romano." The Corsican is Napoleon. Cæsar was the magnanimous man, whom Aristotle describes (*Eth. Nicom.* iv. 7); Napoleon was not.

‡ Alise, or rather the summit of Mont Auxois, west of Dijon in Burgundy, represents the Alesia of Cæsar. A stream flowed along each of two sides of the city. Alesia belonged to the Mædubii, who were dependants of the Ædui. The siege and capture of Alesia, B.C. 52, are told by Cæsar (*Gallie War*, vii. 68, &c.)

The assembling of the Gallic nations was a last great effort to throw off the yoke.

Dion Cassius (40. c. 41) says Vercingetorix was put in chains. Seven years after he appeared in Cæsar's triumph, after which he was put to death.

Cæsar passed the winter of B.C. 51 at Nemetocenna, Arras, in Belgium. The final pacification of Gaul is mentioned (viii. 48). Cæsar left Gaul for North Italy in the early part of B.C. 50, and having visited all the cities in his province on the Italian side of the Alps, he again returned to Nemetocenna in Belgium, and after finally settling affairs in those parts, he returned to North Italy, where he learned that the two legions, which had been taken from him for the Parthian war, had been given by the consul C. Marcellus to Pompeius, and were kept in Italy.

In nine years Cæsar completed the subjugation of all that part of

while Cæsar was besieging this city, which was considered to be impregnable by reason of the strength of the walls and the number of the defenders, there fell upon him from without a danger great beyond all expectation. For the strength of all the nations in Gaul assembling in arms came against Alesia, to the number of three hundred thousand; and the fighting men in the city were not fewer than one hundred and seventy thousand; so that Cæsar being caught between two such forces and blockaded, was compelled to form two walls for his protection, the one towards the city, and the other opposite those who had come upon him, since, if these forces should unite, his affairs would be entirely ruined. On many accounts then, and with good reason, the hazard before the walls of Alesia was famed abroad, as having produced deeds of daring and skill such as no other struggle had done; but it is most worthy of admiration that Cæsar engaged with so many thousands outside of the town and defeated them without it being known to those in the city; and still more admirable, that this was also unknown to the Romans who were guarding the wall towards the city. For they knew nothing of the victory till they heard the weeping of the men in Alesia and the wailing of the women, when they saw on the other side many shields adorned with silver and gold, and many breastplates smeared with blood, and also cups and Gallic tents conveyed by the Romans to their camp. So quickly did so mighty a force, like a phantom or a dream, vanish out of sight and disperse, the greater part of the men having fallen in battle. But those who held Alesia, after giving no small trouble to themselves and to Cæsar, at last surrendered; and the leader of the whole war, Vergentorix, putting on his best armour, and equipping his horse, came out through the gates, and riding round Cæsar who was seated, and then leaping down from his horse, he threw off his complete armour, and seating himself at Cæsar's feet, he re-

Gaul which is bounded by the Saltus Pyrenæus, the Alps and the Cevennes, the Rhine and the Rhone; and it was reduced to the form of a province. (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, c. 25.) With the capture of Alesia the Seventh book of the Gallic War ends. The Eighth book is not by Cæsar.

maird there till he was delivered up to be kept for the triumph.

XXVIII.* Caesar had long ago resolved to put down Pompeius, as Pompeius also had fully resolved to do towards him. For now that Crassus had lost his life among the Parthians, who kept a watch over both of them, it remained for one of them, in order to be the chief, to put down him who was, and to him who was the chief, to take off the man whom he feared, in order that this might not befall him. But it had only recently occurred to Pompeius to take alarm, and hitherto he had despised Cæsar, thinking it would be no difficult thing for the man whom he had elevated to be again depressed by him; but Cæsar, who had formed his design from the beginning, like an athlete, removed himself to a distance from his antagonists, and exercised himself in the Celtic wars, and thus disciplined his troops and increased his reputation, being elevated by his exploits to an equality with the victories of Pompeius; also laying hold of pretexts, some furnished by the conduct of Pompeius himself, and others by the times and the disordered state of the administration at Rome, owing to which, those who were candidates for magistracies placed tables in public and shamelessly bribed the masses, and the people being hired went down to show their partisanship not with votes on behalf of their briber, but with bows and swords and slings. And after polluting the Rostra with blood and dead bodies, they separated, leaving the city to anarchy, like a ship carried along without a pilot, so that sensible men were well content if matters should result in nothing worse than a monarchy after such madness and such tempest. And there were many who even ventured to say publicly that the state of affairs could only be remedied by a monarchy, and that they ought to submit to this remedy when applied by the mildest of physicians, hinting at Pompeius. But when Pompeius in what he said affected to decline the honour, though in fact he was more than anything else labouring to bring about his appointment as dictator, Cato, who saw through his intention, persuaded the Senate to appoint

* As to the disturbances at Rome mentioned in this chapter, see the Life of Pompeius, c. 54, &c., notes.

him sole consul, that he might not by violent means get himself made dictator, and might be contented with a mere constitutional monarchy. They also decreed an additional period for his provinces: and he had two, Iberia* and all Libya, which he administered by sending Legati and maintaining armies, for which he received out of the public treasury a thousand talents every year.

XXIX. Upon this, Cæsar began to canvass for a consulship by sending persons to Rome, and also for a prorogation of the government of his provinces. At first Pompeius kept silent, but Marcellus† and Lentulus opposed his claim, for they hated Cæsar on other grounds, and they added to what was necessary what was not necessary, to dishonour and insult him. For they deprived of the citizenship the inhabitants of Novum Comum‡ a colony lately settled by Cæsar in Gaul; and Marcellus, who was consul, punished with stripes one of the Senators of Novum Comum who had come to Rome, and added too this insult, "That he put these marks upon him to show that he was not a Roman," and he told him to go and show them to Cæsar. After the consulship of Marcellus, when Cæsar had now profusely poured forth his Gallic wealth for all those engaged in public life to draw from, and had released Curio§ the tribune from many debts, and given to Paulus the consul fifteen hundred talents, out of which he decorated the Forum with the Basilica, a famous monument which he built in place of the old one called Fulvia;—under these circumstances, Pompeius, fearing cabal, both openly himself and by means of his friends exerted himself to have a successor|| appointed to Cæsar in his government, and he sent and demanded back of him the soldiers¶ which he had lent to Cæsar for the Gallic wars. Cæsar sent

* Life of Pompeius, c. 52.

† M. Claudius Marcellus, consul B.C. 51, with S. Sulpicius Rufus.

‡ Novum Comum or Novocomum, north of the Padus, had been settled as a Colonia Latina by Cæsar. (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 26.)

The government of the colonia was formed on a Roman model: there was a body of Decuriones or Senators.

§ See the Life of Pompeius, c. 58; Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 26; Dion Cassius, 40. c. 59.

|| L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, whom Cæsar took in Corfinium, c. 34.

¶ See the Life of Pompeius, c. 52.

the men back after giving each of them a present of two hundred and fifty drachmae. The officers who led these troops to Pompeius, spread abroad among the people reports about Cæsar which were neither decent nor honest; and they misled Pompeius by ill-founded hopes, telling him that the army of Cæsar longed to see him, and that while he with difficulty directed affairs at Rome owing to the odium produced by secret intrigues, the force with Cæsar was all ready for him, and that if Cæsar's soldiers should only cross over to Italy, they would forthwith be on his side: so hateful, they said, had Cæsar become to them on account of his numerous campaigns, and so suspected owing to their fear of monarchy. With all this Pompeius was inflated, and he neglected to get soldiers in readiness, as if he were under no apprehension; but by words and resolution he was overpowering Cæsar, as he supposed, by carrying decrees against him, which Cæsar cared not for at all. It is even said that one of the centurions who had been sent by him to Rome, while standing in front of the Senate-house, on hearing that the Senate would not give Cæsar a longer term in his government. "But this," he said, "shall give it," striking the hilt of his sword with his hand.

XXX. However, the claim of Cæsar at least had a striking show of equity. For he proposed that he should lay down his arms and that when Pompeius had done the same and both had become private persons, they should get what favours they could from the citizens; and he argued that if they took from him his power and confirmed to Pompeius what he had, they would be stigmatizing one as a tyrant and making the other a tyrant in fact. When Curio made this proposal before the people on behalf of Cæsar, he was loudly applauded; and some even threw chaplets of flowers upon him as on a victorious athlete. Antonius, who was tribune, produced to the people a letter* of Cæsar's on this subject which he had

* Cæsar (*Civil War*. i. 1) mentions this letter; but it was read in the Senate after great opposition. The consuls of the year a.c. 49 were L. Cornelius Lentulus, and C. Claudius Marcellus.

Cæsar, in the first few chapters of the *Civil War*, has clearly stated all the matters that are referred to in c. 30 and 31. The "letters"

received, and he read it in spite of the consuls. But in the Senate, Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompeius, made a motion, that if Cæsar did not lay down his arms on a certain day, he should be declared an enemy. Upon the consuls putting the question, whether they were of opinion that Pompeius should dismiss his troops, and again, whether Cæsar should, very few voted in favour of the former question, and all but a few voted in favour of the latter; but when Antonius* on his side moved that both should dismiss their troops, all unanimously were in favour of that opinion. Scipio made a violent opposition, and Lentulus, the consul, called out that they needed arms to oppose a robber, and not votes, on which the Senate broke up and the Senators changed their dress as a sign of lamentation on account of the dissension.

XXXI. But when letters had come from Cæsar by which he appeared to moderate his demands, for he proposed to surrender everything else except Gaul within the Alps and Illyricum with two legions, which should be given to him to hold till he was a candidate for a second consulship, and Cicero the orator, who had just returned from Cilicia and was labouring at a reconciliation, was inducing Pompeius to relent, and Pompeius was ready to yield in everything else except as to the soldiers, whom he still insisted on taking from Cæsar, Cicero urged the friends of Cæsar to give in and to come to a settlement on the terms of the above-mentioned provinces and the allowance of six thousand soldiers, only to Cæsar. Pompeius was ready to yield and to give way; but the consul Lentulus would not let him, and he went so far as to insult and drive with dishonour from the Senate both Curio and Antonius, thus himself contriving for Cæsar the most specious of all pretexts, by the aid of which indeed Cæsar mainly excited the passions of his men, pointing out to them that men of distinction and magistrates had made their escape in hired vehicles in the mentioned in c. 31 as coming before Curio and Antonius left Rome, are not mentioned by Cæsar. Plutarch might have confounded this with another matter. (*Civil War*, i. 3.)

* Cæsar was at Ravenna when the tribunes fled from Rome, and he first saw them at Ariminum, Rimini, which was not within the limits of Cæsar's province. (*Civil War*, i. 6; Dion Cassius, 41. c. 3.)

dress of slaves. For, putting on this guise through fear, they had stolen out of Rome.

XXXII. Now Cæsar had about him no more than three hundred horse and five thousand legionary soldiers; for the rest of his army, which had been left beyond the Alps, was to be conducted by those whom he sent for that purpose. Seeing that the commencement of his undertaking and the onset did not so much require a large force at the present, but were to be effected by the alarm which a bold stroke would create and by quickly seizing his opportunity, for he concluded that he should strike terror by his unexpected movement more easily than he could overpower his enemies by attacking them with all his force, he ordered his superior officers and centurions with their swords alone and without any other weapons to take Ariminum, a large city of Gaul, avoiding all bloodshed and confusion as much as possible; and he intrusted the force to Hortensius.* Cæsar himself passed the day in public, standing by some gladiators who were exercising, and looking on; and a little before evening after attending to his person and going into the mess-room and staying awhile with those who were invited to supper, just as it was growing dark he rose, and courteously addressing the guests, told them to wait for his return, but he had previously given notice to a few of his friends to follow him, not all by the same route, but by different directions. Mounting one of the hired vehicles, he drove at first along another road, and then turning towards Ariminum, when he came to the stream which divides Gaul within the Alps from the rest of Italy (it is called Rubico†), and he

* Q. Hortensius Hortalus, a son of the orator Hortensius. He was an unprincipled fellow.

† Cæsar says nothing of the passage of the Rubico, but his silence does not disprove the truth of the story as told by Plutarch. The passage of the Rubico was a common topic (*locus communis*) for rhetoricians. Lucanus (*Pharsalia*, i. 213) has embellished it:—

“Fonte cadit modico parvisque impellitur undis
Puniceus Rubicon, cum fervida conduit æstas—
Tunc vires præbebat hiems.”

This small stream does not appear to be identified with certainty. Some writers make it the Fiumicino.

began to calculate as he approached nearer to the danger, and was agitated by the magnitude of the hazard, he checked his speed; and halting he considered about many things with himself in silence, his mind moving from one side to the other, and his will then underwent many changes; and he also discussed at length with his friends who were present, of whom Pollio Asinius* was one, all the difficulties, and enumerated the evils which would ensue to all mankind from his passage of the river, and how great a report of it they would leave to posterity. At last, with a kind of passion, as if he were throwing himself out of reflection into the future, and uttering what is the usual expression with which men preface their entry upon desperate enterprises and daring, "Let the die be cast," he hurried to cross the river; and thence advancing at full speed, he attacked Ariminum before daybreak and took it. It is said that on the night before the passage of the river, he had an impure dream,† for he dreamed that he was in unlawful commerce with his mother.

XXXIII. But when Ariminum was taken, as if the war had been let loose through wide gates over all the earth and sea at once, and the laws of the state were confounded together with the limits of the province, one would not have supposed that men and women only, as on other occasions, in alarm were hurrying through Italy; but that the cities themselves, rising from their

Ariminum was not in Cæsar's province, and Plutarch must have known that, as appears from his narrative. Kaltwasser thinks that he may mean that it was originally a Gallic town, which was true.

* In Plutarch's time the system of naming the Romans was greatly confused, and he extended the confusion to earlier times. C. Asinius Pollio, who was with Cæsar at the Rubico and at the battle of Pharsalia, wrote a history of the Civil Wars. He was also a poet. (Horatius, *Od.* ii. 1.) His work, as we may collect from c. 46, furnished materials for anecdotes about Cæsar.

† This dream according to Suetonius (*Cæsar*, c. 7) and Dion Cassius (41. c. 24) he had at Gades (Cadiz) in Spain during his questorship. The time of the dream is not unimportant, if the interpretation of it was that he was destined to have the dominion of the world. Cæsar has not recorded his dream. Sulla recorded his dreams. He was superstitious and cruel. Cæsar was not cruel, and there is no proof that he was superstitious.

foundations, were rushing in flight one through another; and Rome herself, as if she were deluged by torrents, owing to the crowding of the people from the neighbouring towns and their removal, could neither easily be pacified by magistrate nor kept in order by words, and in the midst of the mighty swell and the tossing of the tempest, narrowly escaped being overturned by her own agitation. For contending emotions and violent movements occupied every place. Neither did those who rejoiced keep quiet, but in many places, as one might expect in a large city, coming into collision with those who were alarmed and sorrowing, and being full of confidence as to the future, they fell to wrangling with them; and people from various quarters assailed Pompeius, who was terror-struck and had to endure the censure of one party for strengthening Cæsar against himself and the supremacy of Rome, while others charged him with inciting Lentulus to insult Cæsar who was ready to give way and was proposing fair terms of accommodation. Favonius bade him stamp on the ground with his foot; for Pompeius on one occasion in an arrogant address to the Senate, told them not to be concerned or trouble themselves about preparations for war; when Cæsar advanced, he would stamp upon the earth with his foot and fill Italy with armies. However, even then Pompeius had the advantage over Cæsar in amount of forces: but nobody would let the man follow his own judgment; and giving way to the many false reports and alarms, that the war was now close at hand and the enemy in possession of everything, and carried away by the general movement, he declared by an edict that he saw there was tumult, and he left the city after giving his commands to the Senate to follow, and that no one should stay who preferred his country and freedom to tyranny.

XXXIV.* Accordingly the consuls fled without even making the sacrifices which it was usual to make before quitting the city; and most of the senators also took to flight, in a manner as if they were robbing, each

* Pompeius went to Capua, where he thought of making a stand, but he soon moved on to Brundisium. On the confusion in the city see Dion Cassius (41. c. 5-9).

snatching of his own what first came to hand as if it belonged to another. There were some also who, though they had hitherto vehemently supported the party of Cæsar, through alarm at that time lost their presence of mind, and without any necessity for it were carried along with the current of that great movement. A most piteous sight was the city, when so great a storm was coming on, left like a ship whose helmsman had given her up, to be carried along and dashed against anything that lay in her way. But though this desertion of the city was so piteous a thing, men for the sake of Pompeius considered the flight to be their country, and they were quitting Rome as if it were the camp of Cæsar; for even Labienus,* one of Cæsar's greatest friends, who had been his legatus and had fought with him most gallantly in all the Gallic wars, then fled away from Cæsar and came to Pompeius. But Cæsar sent to Labienus both his property and his baggage; and advancing he pitched his camp close by Domitius, who with thirty cohorts held Corfinium.† Domitius despairing of himself asked his physician, who was a slave, for poison, and taking what was given, he drank it, intending to die. Shortly after, hearing that Cæsar showed wonderful clemency towards his prisoners, he bewailed his fate and blamed the rashness of his resolution. But on the physician assuring him that what he had taken was only a sleeping potion and not deadly, he sprung up overjoyed, and going to Cæsar, received his right hand, and yet he afterwards

* The author of the Eighth book of the Gallic War (c. 52) speaks of Labienus being solicited by Cæsar's enemies. Cæsar had put him over Gaul south of the Alps. In the Civil War, Book 1, he is merely mentioned as having fortified Cingulum at his own cost. Cicero (*Ad Attic.* vii. 7) says that he was indebted to Cæsar for his wealth. His defection is mentioned by Cicero several times, and it gave a temporary encouragement to the party of Pompeius. (*Ad Attic.* vi. 12, 13.) Labienus joined Pompeius and the Consuls at Teanum in Campania on the 23rd of January.

† Corfinium three miles from the river Aternus. Cæsar (*Civil War*, i. 16-23) describes the siege of Corfinium. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was treated kindly by Cæsar. He afterwards went to Massalia and defended it against Cæsar. This most excellent citizen, as Cicero calls him, met the death he so well deserved at the battle of Pharsalia, and as Cicero says (*Phillipp.* ii. 29), at the hand of M. Antonius.

went over again to Pompeius. This intelligence being carried to Rome made people more tranquil, and some who had fled, returned.

XXXV Cæsar took the troops of Domitius into his service, as well as the soldiers that were raising for Pompeius whom he surprised in the cities; and having now got a numerous and formidable army, he advanced against Pompeius. Pompeius did not await his approach, but fled to Brundisium, and sending the consuls over before him with a force to Dyrrachium,* himself shortly after sailed from Brundisium upon the approach of Cæsar, as will be told more particularly in the Life of Pompeius.† Though Cæsar wished to pursue immediately, he was prevented by want of ships, and he turned back to Rome, having in sixty days without bloodshed become master of Italy. Finding the city more tranquil than he expected and many of the Senators in it, he addressed them in moderate and constitutional language,‡ urging them to send persons to Pompeius with suitable terms of accommodation; but no one listened to his proposal, either because they feared Pompeius, whom they had deserted, or supposed that Cæsar did not really mean what he said, and merely used specious words. When the tribune Metellus§ attempted to prevent him from taking money from the reserved treasure|| and alleged certain laws, Cæsar

* See the Life of Pompeius, c. 62.

† From this it appears that the Life of Pompeius was written after the Life of Cæsar.

‡ Cæsar (*Civil War*, i, 32) has reported his own speech.

§ See the Life of Pompeius, c. 62.

|| This was the "sanctius ærarium" (Cæsar, *Civil War*, i. 13), which Lentulus had left open; in such alarm had he left the city. This money, which was kept in the temple of Saturn, was never touched except in cases of great emergency. Vossius remarks that to save his own character, Cæsar says that he found this treasury open. But Cæsar does not say that he found it open. He says that Lentulus left it open. There was time enough for Metellus to lock the door after Lentulus ran away. Cæsar would have been a fool not to take the money; and if he wanted it, he would of course break the door open, if he found it shut. But whether the door was open or shut was unimportant; the wrongful act, if there was any, consisted in taking the money, and he would not have been excused for taking it simply because the door was unlocked. I believe Cæsar broke it open (*Cicero 4d Attic. x. 4*; *Dion Cassius, 41. c. 17*; and the authorities quoted

replied, "That the same circumstances did not suit arms and laws: but do you, if you don't like what is doing, get out of the way, for war needs not bold words; when we have laid down our arms after coming to terms, then you may come forward and make your speeches to the people." "And in saying this," he continued, "I waive part of my rights, for you are mine, and all are mine, who have combined against me, now that I have caught them." Having thus spoken to Metellus he walked to the doors of the treasury; but as the keys were not found, he sent for smiths and ordered them to break the locks. Metellus again opposed him, and some commended him for it, but Cæsar, raising his voice, threatened to kill him, if he did not stop his opposition, "And this," said he, "young man, you well know, is more painful for me to have said than to do." These words alarmed Metellus and made him retire, and also caused everything else to be supplied to Cæsar for the war without further trouble, and with speed.

XXXVI. He marched against Iberia,* having first by Reimarus). I also believe Cæsar when he says that Lentulus left the door unlocked. The Senate had supplied Pompeius with money for the war out of the ordinary treasury. When Cæsar took Corfinium, he gave to Domitius all the money that he found there, which was to a large amount, though this was public money and had been given to Domitius by Pompeius to pay his soldiers with. (Appianus, ii. 28; Cæsar, *Civil War*, i. 23.) When "that man of greatest purity and integrity," as Cicero calls him, M. Terentius Varro, commanded for Pompeius in Spain (B.C. 48), he carried off the treasure from the temple of Hercules at Cadiz. That man, on whom Cicero vents every term of abuse that his fear and hatred could supply, restored the stolen money to the god. (Cæsar, *Civil War*, ii. 18, 21.)

* The Spanish campaign against Afranius is contained in the *Civil War*, i. 34, &c. The legati of Pompeius in Spain were L. Afranius, consul B.C. 60, M. Petreius, and M. Terentius Varro, better known for his learning and his numerous works than for his military talents. After the surrender of Afranius and Petreius, Cæsar marched to the south of Spain, for Varro, who was in Lusitania, was making preparations for war. Varro, after some feeble efforts, surrendered to the conqueror at Cordova. Varro was treated kindly like all the rest who fell into Cæsar's hands, and he had the opportunity of placing himself against Cæsar at Dyrrachium.

On his return from the successful close of his Spanish campaign, Massalia surrendered to Cæsar after an obstinate resistance. (Cæsar, *Civil War*, ii. 22.)

It was on his return to Massalia from the south of Spain that Cæsar heard of his appointment as Dictator (*Civil War*, ii. 21).

determined to drive out Afranius and Varro, the legati of Pompeius, and having got into his power the forces and the provinces in those parts, then to advance against Pompeius without leaving any enemy in his rear. After having often been exposed to risk in his own person from ambuscades, and with his army chiefly from want of provisions, he never gave up pursuing, challenging to battle and hemming in the enemy with his lines, till he had made himself master of their camps and forces. The generals escaped to Pompeius.

XXXVII. On his return to Rome, Piso, the father-in-law of Cæsar, advised that they should send commissioners to Pompeius to treat of terms, but Isauricus opposed the measure to please Cæsar. Being chosen Dictator by the Senate, he restored the exiles, and the children of those who had suffered in the times of Sulla,* he reinstated in their civil rights, and he relieved the debtors by a certain abatement of the interest, and took in hand other measures of the like kind, not many in number; but in eleven days, he abdicated the monarchy, and declaring himself and Servilius Isauricus consuls† set out on his expedition. The rest of his forces he passed by on his hurried march, and with six hundred picked horsemen and five legions, the time being the winter solstice and the commencement of January (and this pretty nearly corresponds to the Poseideon of the Athenians), he put to sea, and crossing the Ionian gulf he took Oricum and Apollonia; but he sent back his ships to Brundisium for the soldiers whom he had left behind on his march. But while the men were still on the road, as they were already passed the vigour of their age and worn out by the number of their campaigns, they murmured against Cæsar, "Whither now will he lead us and

* (Cæsar, *Civil War*, iii. 1; Dion Cassius, 41. c. 37.) Cæsar does not speak of those who had suffered in Sulla's time; nor does Dion.

† Cæsar and P. Servilius Isauricus (son of the consul Isauricus, B.C. 79) were elected Consuls for B.C. 48. See the *Life of Pompeius*, c. 54, notes; and of Cæsar, c. 57, *Dictator*.

When Cæsar had left Rome, the boys formed themselves into two parties, Pompeians and Cæsarians, and had a battle without arms, in which the Cæsarians were victorious. (Dion Cassius, 41, c. 39.)

As to Cæsar's forces, see *Civil War*, iii. 2.

where will this man at last carry us to, hurrying us about and treating us as if we could never be worn out and as if we were inanimate things? even the sword is at last exhausted by blows, and shield and breastplate need to be spared a little after so long use. Even our wounds do not make Cæsar consider that he commands perishable bodies, and that we are but mortal towards endurance and pain; and the winter season and the storms of the sea even a god cannot command; but this man runs all risks, as if he were not pursuing his enemies, but flying from them." With such words as these they marched slowly towards Brundisium. But when they found that Cæsar had embarked, then quickly changing their temper, they reproached themselves as traitors to their Imperator; and they abused their officers also for not hastening the march. Sitting on the heights, they looked towards the sea and towards Epirus for the ships which were to carry them over to their commander.

XXXVIII. At Apollonia, as Cæsar had not a force sufficient to oppose the enemy, and the delay of the troops from Italy put him in perplexity and much uneasiness, he formed a desperate design, without communicating it to any one, to embark in a twelve-oared boat and go over to Brundisium, though the sea was commanded by so many ships of the enemy.* Accordingly, disguising himself in a slave's dress, he went on board by night, and throwing himself down as a person of no importance, he lay quiet. While the river Anius† was carrying down the boat towards the sea, the morning breeze, which at that time generally made the water smooth at the outlet of the river by driving the waves before it, was beaten down by

* Dion Cassius (41. c. 45) tells this story of the boat adventure; and (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 57) Cæsar was uneasy at the delay of M. Antonius and his legions, and he feared that Antonius might desert him. Cæsar says nothing of this attempt to cross the sea. He very seldom mentions his personal risks. He left this to the anecdote collectors.

† The river appears to be the Anas of Dion (41. c. 45) which is near Apollonia, though he does not mention the river in his account of Cæsar's attempted voyage. This is the river which Strabo calls *Æas*, and Hekateus calls *Aous* (Strabo, p. 316).

For the events in these three chapters see the *Life of Pompeius*, c. 65, &c., and the references in the notes.

a strong wind which blew all night over the sea ; and the river, chafing at the swell of the sea and the opposition of the waves, was becoming rough, being driven back by the huge blows and violent eddies, so that it was impossible for the master of the boat to make head against it ; on which he ordered the men to change about, intending to turn the boat round. Cæsar perceiving this, discovered himself, and taking the master by the hand, who was alarmed at the sight of him, said, "Come, my good man, have courage and fear nothing ; you carry Cæsar and the fortune of Cæsar in your boat." The sailors now forgot the storm, and sticking to their oars, worked with all their force to get out of the river. But as it was impossible to get on, after taking in much water and running great risk at the mouth of the river, Cæsar very unwillingly consented that the master should put back. On his return, the soldiers met him in crowds, and blamed him much and complained that he did not feel confident of victory even with them alone, but was vexed and exposed himself to risk on account of the absent, as if he distrusted those who were present.

XXXIX. Shortly after Antonius arrived from Brundisium with the troops ; and Cæsar, being now confident, offered battle to Pompeius, who was well posted and had sufficient supplies both from land and sea, while Cæsar at first had no abundance, and afterwards was hard pressed for want of provisions ; but the soldiers cut up a certain root* and mixing it with milk, ate it. And once, having made loaves of it, they ran up to the enemies' outposts, threw the bread into the camp, and pitched it about, adding, that so long as the earth produces such roots, they will never stop besieging Pompeius. Pompeius, however, would not let either the matter of the loaves or these words be made known to the mass of the army ; for his soldiers were dispirited and dreaded the savage temper and endurance of the enemy as if they were wild beasts. There were continually skirmishes about the fortifications

* Cæsar calls the root *Chara* (*Civil War*, iii. 48. Comp. Plinius, *N. H.* 19, c. 8). These facts are mentioned in Cæsar. The events in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium and Apollonia must be studied in Cæsar, Dion Cassius, Book 41, and Appianus, Book ii.

of Pompeius, and Cæsar had the advantage in all except one, in which there was a great rout of his troops and he was in danger of losing his camp. For when Pompeius made an onset, no one stood the attack, but the trenches were filled with the dying, and Cæsar's men were falling about their own ramparts and bulwarks, being driven in disorderly flight. Though Cæsar met the fugitives and endeavoured to turn them, he had no success, and when he laid hold of the colours, those who were carrying them threw them down, so that the enemy took two and thirty, and Cæsar himself had a narrow escape with his life. A tall, strong man was running away past by Cæsar, who putting his hand upon him, ordered him to stand and face the enemy; but the man, who was completely confounded by the danger, raised his sword to strike him, on which Cæsar's shield-bearer struck the man first and cut off his shoulder. Cæsar had so completely given up his cause as lost, that when Pompeius either through caution or from some accident did not put the finishing stroke to his great success, but retreated after shutting up the fugitives within their ramparts, Cæsar said to his friends as he was retiring, To-day the victory would be with the enemy, if they had a commander who knew how to conquer. Going into his tent and lying down, Cæsar spent that night of all nights in the greatest agony and perplexity, considering that his generalship had been bad, in that while a fertile country lay near him and the rich cities of Macedonia and Thessaly, he had neglected to carry the war thither, and was now stationed on the sea which the enemy commanded with his ships, and that he was rather held in siege by want of supplies than holding the enemy in siege by his arms. Accordingly, after passing a restless night, full of uneasiness at the difficulty and danger of his present position, he broke up his camp with the determination of leading his troops into Macedonia to oppose Scipio, for he concluded that either he should draw Pompeius after him to a country where he would fight without the advantage of having the same supplies from the sea, or that he would defeat Scipio if he were left to himself.

XL. This encouraged the army of Pompeius and the

officers about him to stick close to Cæsar, whom they considered to have been defeated and to be making his escape; though Pompeius himself was cautious about hazarding a battle for so great a stake, and, as he was excellently furnished with everything for prolonging the war, he thought it best to wear out and weaken the vigour of the enemy, which could not be long sustained. For the best fighting men in Cæsar's army possessed experience and irresistible courage in battle; but in marchings and making encampments and assaulting fortifications and watching by night, they gave way by reason of their age, and their bodies were unwieldy for labour, and owing to weakness, had lost their alacrity. It was also reported that a pestilential disease was prevalent in Cæsar's army, which had originated in the want of proper food; and, what was chief of all, as Cæsar was neither well supplied with money nor provisions, it might be expected that in a short time his army would be broken up of itself.

XLI. For these reasons Pompeius did not wish to fight, and Cato alone commended his design, because he wished to spare the citizens; for after seeing those who had fallen in the battle to the number of a thousand, he wrapped up his face and went away with tears in his eyes. But all the rest abused Pompeius for avoiding a battle, and tried to urge him on by calling him Agamemnon and King of Kings, by which they implied that he was unwilling to lay down the sole command, and was proud at having so many officers under his orders and coming to his tent, Favonius, who aped Cato's freedom of speech, raved because they should not be able even that year to enjoy the figs of Tusculum owing to Pompeius being so fond of command; and Afranius (for he had just arrived from Iberia, where he had shown himself a bad general), being charged with betraying his army for a bribe, asked why they did not fight with the merchant who had bought the provinces of him. Pressed by all this importunity, Pompeius pursued Cæsar with the intention of fighting, though contrary to his wish. Cæsar accomplished his march with difficulty, as no one would supply him with provisions and he was universally despised on account of

his recent defeat; however, after taking Gomphi,* a Thessalian city, he had not only provisions for his army, but his men were unexpectedly relieved from their disease. For they fell in with abundance of wine, of which they drank plentifully, and revelling and rioting on their march, by means of their drunkenness, they threw off and got rid of their complaint in consequence of their bodies being brought into a different habit.

XLII. When the two armies had entered the plain of Pharsalus and pitched their camps, Pompeius again fell back into his former opinion, and there were also unlucky appearances and a vision in his sleep.† He dreamed that he saw himself in the theatre, applauded by the Romans. But those about him were so confident, and so fully anticipated a victory, that Domitius and Scipio and Spinther were disputing and bestirring themselves against one another about the priesthood of Cæsar, and many persons sent to Rome to hire and get possession of houses that were suitable for consuls and prætors, expecting to be elected to magistracies immediately after the war. But the cavalry showed most impatience for the battle, being sumptuously equipped with splendid armour, and priding themselves on their well-fed horses and fine persons, and on their numbers also, for they were seven thousand against Cæsar's thousand. The number of the infantry also was unequal, there being forty-five thousand matched against twenty-two thousand.

XLIII. Cæsar, calling his soldiers together and telling them that Cornificius ‡ was close at hand with two legions,

* Cæsar mentions the capture of Gomphi (*Civil War*, iii. 80), but he says nothing of the wine. Cæsar let his men plunder Gomphi. The town had offered him all its means and prayed him for a garrison, but on hearing of his loss at Dyrrachium the people shut their gates against him and sent to Pompeius for aid. The town was stormed on the first day that it was attacked.

† As Kaltwasser observes, there was no bad omen in the dream, as it is here reported. We must look to the *Life of Pompeius*, c. 68, for the complete dream. Perhaps something has dropped out of the text here. Dacier, as Kaltwasser says, has inserted the whole passage out of the *Life of Pompeius*.

‡ This is an error. The name is Q. Cornificius. See the note of Sintenis. He was a quæstor of Cæsar. Calenus is Fufius Calenus, who had been sent by Cæsar into Achaia, and had received the sub-

and that other cohorts to the number of fifteen under Calenus were encamped near Megara and Athens, asked if they would wait for them or hazard a battle by themselves. The soldiers cried out aloud that they did not wish him to wait, but rather to contrive and so manage his operations that they might soonest come to a battle with their enemies. While he was performing a lustration of the army, as soon as he had sacrificed the first victim, the soothsayer said that within three days there would be a decisive battle with the enemy. Upon Cæsar asking him, if he saw any favourable sign in the victims as to the result of the battle also, he replied, "You can answer this better for yourself the gods indicate a great change and revolution of the actual state of things to a contrary state, so that if you think yourself prosperous in your present condition, expect the worst fortune; but if you do not, expect the better." As Cæsar was taking his round to inspect the watches the night before the battle about midnight, there was seen in the heavens a fiery torch, which seemed to pass over Cæsar's camp and assuming a bright and flamelike appearance to fall down upon the camp of Pompeius. In the morning watch they perceived that there was also a panic confusion among the enemy. However, as Cæsar did not expect that the enemy would fight on that day, he began to break up his camp with the intention of marching to Scotussa.

XLIV. The tents were already taken down when the scouts rode up to him with intelligence that the enemy were coming down to battle, whereupon Caesar was overjoyed, and after praying to the gods he arranged his battle in three divisions. He placed Domitius Calvinus in command of the centre, Antonius had the left wing, and he commanded the right, intending to fight in the tenth legion. Observing that the cavalry of the enemy were posting themselves opposite to this wing and fearing their splendid appearance and their numbers, he ordered six cohorts to come round to him from the last line without being observed and he placed them in the rear of

mission of Delphi, Thebæ, and Orolomenus, and was then engaged in taking other cities and trying to gain over other cities. (Cæsar, *Civil War*, iii. 55)

the right wing with orders what to do when the enemy's cavalry made their attack. Pompeius commanded his own right, and Domitius the left, and the centre was under Scipio, his father-in-law. But all the cavalry crowded to the left, intending to surround the right wing of the enemy and to make a complete rout of the men who were stationed about the general; for they believed that no legionary phalanx, however deep, could resist, but that their opponents would be completely crushed and broken to pieces by an attack of so many cavalry at once. When the signal for attack was going to be given on both sides, Pompeius ordered the legionary soldiers to stand with their spears presented and in close order to wait the attack of the enemy till they were within a spear's throw. But Cæsar says that here also Pompeius made a mistake, not knowing that the first onset, accompanied with running and impetuosity, gives force to the blows, and at the same time fires the courage, which is thus fanned in every way. As Cæsar was about to move his phalanx and was going into action, the first centurion that he spied was a man who was faithful to him and experienced in war, and was encouraging those under his command and urging them to vigorous exertion. Cæsar addressing him by name said, "What hopes have we Caius Crassinius,* and how are our men as to courage?" Crassinius stretching out his right hand and calling out aloud, said, "We shall have a splendid victory, Cæsar; and you shall praise me whether I survive the day or die." Saying this, he was the first to fall on the enemy at his full speed and carrying with him the hundred and twenty soldiers who were under his command. Having cut through the first rank, he was advancing with great slaughter of the enemy and was driving them from their ground, when he was stopped by a blow from a sword through the mouth, and the point came out at the back of his neck.

XLV. The infantry having thus rushed together in the centre and being engaged in the struggle, the cavalry of Pompeius proudly advanced from the wing, extending their companies to enclose Cæsar's right; but before they

* See the Life of Pompeius, c. 71.

fell upon the enemy, the cohorts sprang forward from among Cæsar's troops, not, according to the usual fashion of war, throwing their spears nor yet holding them in their hands and aiming at the thighs and legs of the enemy, but pushing them against their eyes and wounding them in the face; and they had been instructed to do this by Cæsar, who was confident that men who had no great familiarity with battles or wounds, and were young and very proud of their beauty and youth, would dread such wounds and would not keep their ground both through fear of the present danger and the future disfigurement. And it turned out so; for they could not stand the spears being pushed up at them nor did they venture to look at the iron that was presented against their eyes, but they turned away and covered their faces to save them; and at last, having thus thrown themselves into confusion, they turned to flight most disgracefully and ruined the whole cause. For those who had defeated the cavalry, immediately surrounded the infantry and falling on them in the rear began to cut them down. But when Pompeius saw from the other wing the cavalry dispersed in flight, he was no longer the same, nor did he recollect that he was Pompeius Magnus, but more like a man who was deprived of his understanding by the god than anything else,* he retired without speaking a word to his tent, and sitting down awaited the result, until the rout becoming general the enemy were assailing the ramparts, and fighting with those who defended them. Then, as if he had recovered his senses and uttering only these words, as it is reported, "What even to the ramparts!" he put off his military and general's dress, and taking one suited for a fugitive, stole away. But what fortunes he afterwards had, and how he gave himself up to the Egyptians and was murdered, I shall tell in the Life of Pompeius.

XLVI. When Cæsar entered the camp of Pompeius and saw the bodies of those who were already killed, and the slaughter still going on among the living, he said with a groan: They would have it so; they brought me

* I have omitted the unmeaning words ἡ δὲ δαίμων ἤρπυι ῥεβάνη ἐμύκρον. See the note of Sintenis.

into such a critical position that I, Caius Cæsar, who have been successful in the greatest wars, should have been condemned, if I had disbanded my troops. Asinius Pollio* says that Cæsar uttered these words on that occasion in Latin, and that he wrote them down in Greek. He also says that the chief part of those who were killed were slaves, and they were killed when the camp was taken; and that not more than six thousand soldiers fell. Of those who were taken prisoners, Cæsar drafted most into his legions; and he pardoned many men of distinction, among whom was Brutus, who afterwards murdered him. Cæsar is said to have been very much troubled at his not being found, but when Brutus, who had escaped unhurt, presented himself to Cæsar, he was greatly pleased. †

XLVII. There were many prognostics of the victory, but the most remarkable is that which is reported as having appeared at Tralles.† In the temple of Victory there stood a statue of Cæsar, and the ground about it was naturally firm and the surface was also paved with hard stone; from this, they say, there sprung up a palm-tree by the pedestal of the statue. In Patavium, Caius Cornelius, a man who had reputation for his skill in divination, a fellow-citizen and acquaintance of Livius the historian, happened to be sitting that day to watch the birds. And first of all, as Livius says, he discovered the time of the battle, and he said to those who were present that the affair was now deciding and the men were going into action. Looking again and observing the signs, he sprang up with enthusiasm and called out, "You conquer, Cæsar." The bystanders being surprised, he took the chaplet from his head and said with an oath, that he

* These words of Cæsar are also reported by Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 30), on the authority of Pollio. They are: Hoc voluerunt: tantis rebus gestis C. Cæsar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem. These words are more emphatic with the omission of 'they brought me into such a critical position,' and Casaubon proposes to erase them in Plutarch's text, that is, to alter and improve the text.

† A rich town of Lydia in Asia Minor on the north side of the Mæander. This miracle at Tralles and others are enumerated by Cæsar (*Civil War*, iii. 105; Dion Cassius, 41. c. 61). The book of Livius, in which this affair of Patavium (Padua) was mentioned (the 111th), is lost. See the Supplement of Freinsheim, c. 72.

would not put it on again till facts had confirmed his art. Livius affirms that these things were so.

XLVIII. Cæsar after giving the Thessalians their liberty* in consideration of his victory, pursued Pompeius. On reaching Asia† he made the Cnidians free to please Theopompus,‡ the collector of myths, and he remitted to all the inhabitants of Asia the third of their taxes. Arriving at Alexandria§ after the death of Pompeius, he turned away from Theodotus who brought him the head of Pompeius, but he received his seal ring|| and shed tears over it. All the companions and intimate friends of Pompeius who were rambling about the country and had been taken by the King, he treated well and gained over to himself. He wrote to his friends in Rome, that the chief and the sweetest pleasure that he derived from his victory, was to be able to pardon any of those citizens who had fought against him. As to the war¶ there, some say

* See life of Pompeius, c. 42, notes; and Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 88).

† Cæsar crossed the Hellespont, where he met with C. Cassius Longinus going with a fleet to aid Pharnakes in Pontus. Cassius surrendered and was kindly treated, in consideration of which he afterwards assisted to murder Cæsar. (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 88.)

‡ Of Knidus. The same who is mentioned by Cicero (*Ad Attio*, xiii. 7) as a friend of Cæsar, and by Strabo, p. 48, &c.

Asia is the Roman province of Asia.

§ Cæsar (*Civil War*, iii. 106) speaks of his arrival on the coast of Egypt. The Egyptians were offended to see the Roman fasces carried before him.

|| Cæsar had the head of Pompeius burnt with due honours, and he built a temple to Nemesis over the ashes. The temple was pulled down by the Jews in their rising in Egypt during the time of Trajanus. (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 90.)

As to the seal ring see the Life of Pompeius, c. 80, and Dion Cassius (42. c. 18).

¶ The Alexandrine war, which is confusedly told here, is recorded in a single book entitled *De Bello Alexandrino* and in Dion Cassius (42. c. 34-44). The origin of it is told by Cæsar at the end of the third Book of the *Civil War*. The history of the Alexandrine war by Appianus was in his *Ægyptiaca*, which is lost. Dion Cassius, a lover of scandal, mentions that Cæsar's attachment to Kleopatra was the cause of the Alexandrine war (42. c. 44). But it could not be the sole cause. Cæsar landed with the insignia of his office, as if he were entering a Roman province, and it might be reasonably suspected by the Egyptians that he had a design on the country. Instead of thanking them for ridding him of his rival, he fixed himself and his

that it might have been avoided and that it broke out in consequence of his passion for Kleopatra and was discreditable to him and hazardous; but others blame the King's party and chiefly the eunuch Pothinus, who possessed the chief power, and having lately cut off Pompeius and driven out Kleopatra, was now secretly plotting against Cæsar; and on this account they say that Cæsar from that time passed the nights in drinking in order to protect himself. But in his public conduct Pothinus was unbearable, for he both said and did many things to bring odium on Cæsar and to insult him. While measuring out to the soldiers the worst and oldest corn he told them they must be satisfied with it and be thankful, as they were eating what belonged to others; and at the meals he used only wooden and earthen vessels, alleging that Cæsar had got all the gold and silver vessels in payment for a debt.* For the father of the then King owed Cæsar one thousand seven hundred and fifty times ten thousand, of which Cæsar had remitted the seven hundred and fifty to the King's sons before, but he now claimed the one thousand to maintain his army with. Upon Pothinus now bidding him take his departure and attend to his important affairs and that he should afterwards receive his money back with thanks, Cæsar said, that least of all people did he want the Egyptians as advisers, and he secretly sent for Kleopatra from the country.

XLIX. Kleopatra,† taking Apollodorus the Sicilian alone of all her friends with her, and getting into a small boat,

soldiers in one of the quarters of Alexandria. Cæsar went to get money (Dion, 42. c. 9). Kleopatra kept him there longer than he at first intended to stay.

* Ptolemæus Auletes through Cæsar's influence had been declared a friend and ally of the Romans in Cæsar's consulship B.C. 59. (Cic. *Ad Attic.* ii. 16.) Ptolemæus had to spend money for this: he both gave and promised. It does not appear that this money was promised to Cæsar: it is more probable that it was promised to the Roman State and Cæsar came to get it.

† The story of Kleopatra coming to Cæsar is also told by Dion Cassius (42. c. 34). Cæsar mentions his putting Pothinus to death (*Civil War*, iii. 112). Cæsar had at first only 3200 foot soldiers and 800 cavalry to oppose to the 20,000 men of Achilles, who were not bad soldiers. Besides these 20,000 men Achilles had a great number of vagabonds collected from all parts of Cilicia and Syria.

approached the palace as it was growing dark; and as it was impossible for her to escape notice in any other way, she got into a bed sack and laid herself out at full length, and Apollodorus, tying the sack together with a cord, carried her through the doors to Cæsar. Cæsar is said to have been first captivated by this device of Kleopatra, which showed a daring temper, and being completely enslaved by his intercourse with her and her attractions, he brought about an accommodation between Kleopatra and her brother on the terms of her being associated with him in the kingdom. A feast was held to celebrate the reconciliation, during which a slave of Cæsar, his barber, owing to his timidity in which he had no equal, leaving nothing unscrutinized, and listening and making himself very busy, found out that a plot against Cæsar was forming by Achilles the general and Potheinus the eunuch. Cæsar being made acquainted with their design, placed a guard around the apartment, and put Potheinus to death. Achilles escaped to the camp, and raised about Cæsar a dangerous and difficult war for one who with so few troops had to resist so large a city and force. In this contest the first danger that he had to encounter was being excluded from water, for the canals* were dammed up by the enemy; and, in the second place, an attempt being made to cut off his fleet, he was compelled to repel the danger with fire, which spreading from the arsenals to the large library† destroyed it; and, in the third place, in the battle near the Pharos‡ he leaped down from the mound into a small

* Alexandria had no springs, and it was supplied from the Nile, the water of which was received into cisterns under the houses. This supply was (*Bell. Alex.* 5, &c.) damaged by Ganymedes the Egyptian drawing up salt water from the sea and sending it into the cisterns. Cæsar supplied himself by digging wells in the sand.

† As to the destruction of the library see Dion Cassius (42. c. 38) and the notes of Reimar. The destruction is not mentioned by Cæsar or the author of the Alexandrine war. Kleopatra afterwards restored it, and the library was famed for a long time after. Lipsius (*Opera* iii. 1124, Vesal. 1675) has collected all that is known of this and other ancient libraries.

‡ The Pharos is a small island in the bay of Alexandria, which was connected with the mainland by a mole, and so divided the harbour into two parts. The story of the battle of the Pharos is told by Dion Cassius (42. c. 40), with the particulars about Cæsar's escape. See the notes of Reimar.

boat and went to aid the combatants; but as the Egyptians were coming against him from all quarters, he threw himself into the sea and swam away with great difficulty. On this occasion it is said that he had many papers in his hands, and that he did not let them go, though the enemy were throwing missiles at him and he had to dive under the water, but holding the papers above the water with one hand, he swam with the other; but the boat was sunk immediately. At last, when the King had gone over to the enemy, Cæsar attacked and defeated them in a battle in which many fell and the King* himself disappeared. Leaving Kleopatrat Queen of Egypt, who shortly after gave birth to a child that she had by Cæsar, which the Alexandrines named Cæsarion, he marched to Syria.

1. From Syria continuing his march through Asia he heard that Domitius had been defeated by Pharnakes ‡

The modern city of Alexandria is chiefly built on the mole which joined the old city to the mainland. (Article *Alexandria*, 'Penny Cyclopædia,' by the author of this note.)

* The King, the elder brother of Kleopatrat, was drowned in the Nile. (Dion Cassius, 42. c. 43, and the notes of Reimarus.) His body was found. (Florus, ii. 60.)

† Cæsar did not add Egypt to the Roman Empire. He married Kleopatrat to her younger brother, who was a boy. Dion says that he still continued his commerce with Kleopatrat. Cæsar was nine months in Egypt, from October 48 to July 47 of the unreformed Kalendar.

Cæsarion, a Greek form from the word Cæsar, may have been Cæsar's son, for there is no doubt that Cæsar cohabited with Kleopatrat in Egypt. There is more about this Cæsarion in Suetonius, *Cæsar*, c. 52, where the reading is doubtful; *Cæsar Octavian*. c. 17. When Cæsar Octavianus took Egypt he put Cæsarion to death.

‡ He had been acknowledged by Pompeius as king of the Bosphorus after the death of his father. He was now in Asia Minor, where he had taken Amisus and had castrated all the male children. Cæsar after hearing of the defeat of Domitius Calvinus, his legatus, by Pharnakes, advanced against him and routed his army. Zela is eight hours south of Amasia, the birthplace of Strabo, and about 40° 15' N. lat. Pharnakes was afterwards murdered by Asander, one of his generals. (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 91; Dion Cassius, 42, 46.; *Bell. Alexandrin.* c. 72.)

The modern town of Zilleh, which contains 2000 houses, stands on the site of Zela. A hill rises abruptly above the plain near the centre of the present town, and occupies a commanding position. The appearance of the place corresponds very well with Strabo's description (p. 561), in whose time it was the capital of Zelitis. (Hamilton's *Asia Minor*, i. 361.)

son of Mithridates, and had fled from Pontus with a few men; and that Pharnakes, who used his victory without any moderation, and was in possession of Bithynia and Cappadocia, also coveted Armenia, called the Little, and was stirring up all the kings and tetrarchs in this part. Accordingly Cæsar forthwith advanced against the man with three legions and fighting a great battle near Zela drove Pharnakes in flight from Pontus, and completely destroyed his army. In reporting to one of his friends at Rome, Amantius,* the celerity and rapidity of this battle, he wrote only three words: "I came, I saw, I conquered." In the Roman language the three words ending in the like form of verb, have a brevity which is not without its effect.

LI. After this, passing over to Italy he went up to Rome at the close of the year for which he had been chosen Dictator† the second time, though that office had never before been for a whole year; and he was elected consul for the following year. He was much blamed about a mutiny‡ that broke out among the soldiers in which

* This is the best MS. reading, not Amintius; the true name is probably C. Matius. He was an intimate friend of Cæsar, and he is well spoken of by Cicero. He remained faithful to the cause of Cæsar after his death, and he attached himself to Octavianus. There is a letter of Cicero to Matius, with the answer of Matius (Cicero, *Ad Diversos*, xi. 27, 28) written after Cæsar's death, which shows him to have been a man of honour and courage, and worthy of the name of Cæsar's friend.

This letter of Cæsar's is probably a forgery of the anecdote-makers. Davis (note to Oudendorp's Cæsar, ii. 992) has indicated the probable source of this supposed letter. (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, c. 37.) The battle was a smart affair of several hours, and was not won without some loss.

† He was named Dictator for B. C. 47 by the Senate in Rome immediately after the battle of Pharsalia: he was at Alexandria when he received this news. He appointed M. Antonius his Master of the Horse and sent him to Rome. (Dion Cassius, 42. c. 21-33)

‡ It broke out during his dictatorship. (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, c. 70; Dion Cassius, 42. c. 52.) The story is told very circumstantially by Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 92). The soldiers demanded of Cæsar release from service (*missio*), and he granted it to them in a single word, *Mitto*. The soldiers having got what they asked for were no longer soldiers, but citizens; and Cæsar in the subsequent part of the conference properly addressed them as *Quirites*, just as Cicero addresses the Roman people by this name in one of his orations against *Clodius*. The soldiers at last prevailed on him to restore them to their former condition; and he set out with them for his African war. This affair is alluded to by Tacitus. (*Annal.* ii. 42; Lucanus, v. 357.)

they killed two men of prætorian rank, Cosconius and Galba, because he reproved his men no further than by calling them citizens instead of soldiers, and he gave to each of them a thousand drachmæ, and allotted to them much land in Italy. He also bore the blame of the madness of Dolabella,* the covetousness of Amantius, and the drunkenness of Antonius, and the greedy tricks of Corfinius in getting the house of Pompeius, and his building it over again as if it were not fit for him; for the Romans were annoyed at these things. But Cæsar, in the present state of affairs, though he was not ignorant of these things, and did not approve of them, was compelled to employ such men in his service.

LII. As Cato† and Scipio, after the battle near Pharsalus, had fled to Libya, and there, with the assistance of King Juba, got together a considerable force, Cæsar determined to go against them; and about the winter solstice passing over to Sicily and wishing to cut off from the officers about him all hopes of delay and tarrying there, he placed his own tent on the margin of the waves,‡ and as soon as there was a wind he went on board and set sail with three thousand foot-soldiers and a few horsemen. Having landed them unobserved he embarked again, for he was under some apprehension about the larger part of his force; and having fallen in with it on the sea, he conducted all to the camp. Now there was with him in the army a man in other respects contemptible enough and of no note, but of the family of the Africani, and his

* P. Cornelius Dolabella, a devoted adherent of Cæsar. His turbulent tribunate is recorded by Dion Cassius (42. c. 29, &c.). He was consul with M. Antonius B.C. 44. The name Amantius occurs here again. It is Amintius in some editions of Plutarch. Kaltwasser observes that nothing is known of Amintius and Corfinius. But Corfinius should be Cornificius; and Amantius should probably be C. Matius.

† Cato was not in the battle of Pharsalus. After the battle Cato, Scipio, Afranius, and Labienus went to Corcyra, whence they sailed to Africa to join Juba. (Life of Cato, c. 55; Dion Cassius, 42. c. 10; Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 95, &c.)

‡ The history of the African War is contained in one book, and is printed in the editions with the Gallic War of Cæsar. Cæsar landed at Hadrumetum, because Utica was strongly guarded. (Dion Cassius, 42. c. 58.)

‡ Comp. the *African War*, c. 1.

name was Scipio Sallutio;* and as Cæsar heard that the enemy relied on a certain old oracular answer, that it was always the privilege of the family of the Scipios to conquer in Libya, either to show his contempt of Scipio as a general by a kind of joke, or because he really wished to have the benefit of the omen himself (it is difficult to say which), he used to place this Sallutio in the front of the battles as if he were the leader of the army; for Cæsar was often compelled to engage with the enemy and to seek a battle, there being neither sufficient supply of corn for the men nor fodder for the animals, but they were compelled to take the sea-weed after washing off the salt and mixing a little grass with it by way of sweetening it, and so to feed their horses. For the Numidians, by continually showing themselves in great numbers and suddenly appearing, kept possession of the country; and on one occasion while the horsemen of Cæsar were amusing themselves with a Libyan, who was exhibiting to them his skill in dancing and playing on a flute at the same time in a surprising manner, and the men, pleased with the sight, were sitting on the ground and the boys holding their horses, the enemy suddenly coming round and falling upon them killed some, and entered the camp together with the rest, who fled in disorderly haste. And if Cæsar himself and Asinius Pollio had not come out of the camp to help the men, and checked the pursuit, the war would have been at an end. In another battle, also, the enemy had the advantage in the encounter, on which occasion it is said that Cæsar, seizing by the neck the man who bore the eagle and was running away, turned him round, and said, "There is the enemy!"

LIII. However Scipio † was encouraged by these advantages to hazard a decisive battle; and leaving Afranius and

* Dion Cassius (42. c. 58) calls him Salatto. Suetonius (*Cæsar*, c. 59) also tells the same story. The African campaign is told by Dion Cassius, 43. c. 1, &c.

† Scipio avoided fighting as long as he could. Thapsus was situated on a kind of peninsula, south of Hadrumetum, as Dion Cassius states. But his description is not clear. There were salt-pans near it, which were separated from the sea by a very narrow tract. Cæsar occupied this approach to Thapsus, and then formed his lines about the town in the form of a crescent. Scipio came to relieve Thapsus, and this brought on a battle. (*African War*, 80.) Cæsar could not stop the slaughter after the battle was won.

Juba * encamped each separately at a short distance, he commenced making a fortified camp above a lake near the city Thapsus, intending it as a place for the whole army to sally forth from to battle and a place of refuge also. While he was thus employed, Cæsar with incredible speed making his way through woody grounds which contained certain approaches that had not been observed, surrounded part of the enemy and attacked others in front. Having put these to flight he availed himself of the critical moment and the career of fortune, by means of which he captured the camp of Afranius on the first assault, and at the first assault also he broke into the camp of the Numidians from which Juba fled; and in a small part of a single day he made himself master of three camps and destroyed fifty thousand of the enemy without losing as many as fifty of his own men. This is the account that some writers give of that battle; but others say that Cæsar was not in the action himself, but that as he was marshalling and arranging his forces, he was attacked by his usual complaint, and that perceiving it as soon as it came on, and before his senses were completely confounded and overpowered by the malady, just as he was beginning to be convulsed, he was carried to one of the neighbouring towers and stayed there quietly. Of the men of consular and prætorian rank who escaped from the battle, some killed themselves when they were being taken, and Cæsar put many to death who were captured.

LIV. Being ambitious to take Cato † alive, Cæsar hastened to Utica, for Cato was guarding that city and was not in the battle. Hearing that Cato had put an end

* Petreius, Cæsar's former opponent in Spain, fled with Juba to Zama, where Juba had his family and his treasures. But the people would not receive Juba into the place. On which, after rambling about for some time with Petreius, in despair they determined to fight with one another that they might die like soldiers. Juba, who was strong, easily killed Petreius, and then with the help of a slave he killed himself. (*African War*, 94; Dion Cassius, 43. c. 8.)

Scipio attempted to escape to Spain on ship-board. Near Hippo Regius (Bona) he was in danger of falling into the hands of P. Silius, on which he stabbed himself. Afranius and Faustus Sulla, the son of the dictator, were taken prisoners and murdered by the soldiers in Cæsar's camp.

† As to the death of Cato, see the Life of Cato, c. 65.

to himself, Cæsar was evidently annoyed, but for what reason is uncertain. However, he said, "Cato, I grudge you your death, for you also have grudged me the preservation of your life." But the work which he wrote against Cato after his death cannot be considered an indication that he was mercifully disposed towards him or in a mood to be easily reconciled. For how can we suppose that he would have spared Cato living, when he poured out against him after he was dead so much indignation? However, some persons infer from his mild treatment of Cicero and Brutus and ten thousand others of his enemies that this discourse also was composed not from any enmity, but from political ambition, for the following reason. Cicero wrote a panegyric on Cato and gave the composition the title "Cato"; and the discourse was eagerly read by many, as one may suppose, being written by the most accomplished of orators on the noblest subject. This annoyed Cæsar, who considered the panegyric on a man whose death he had caused to be an attack upon himself. Accordingly in his treatise he got together many charges against Cato; and the work is entitled "Anticato."* Both compositions have many admirers, as well on account of Cæsar as of Cato.

LV. However, on his return† to Rome from Libya, in the first place Cæsar made a pompous harangue to the people about his victory, in which he said that he had conquered a country large enough to supply annually to the treasury two hundred thousand Attic medimni of corn, and three million litræ of oil. In the next place he celebrated triumphs,‡ the Egyptian, the Pontic, and the

* The work was in two books, and was written about the time of the battle of Munda, B.C. 45. (Suetonius, c. 56; Cicero, *Ad Attic.* xii. 40; Dion Cassius, 43. c. 13, and the notes of Reimarus about the "Anticato.")

† Cæsar made the kingdom of Juba a Roman province, of which he appointed C. Sallustius, the historian, proconsul. He laid heavy impositions on the towns of Thapsus and Hadrumetum. He imposed on the people of Leptis an annual tax of 3,000,000 pounds weight of oil (pondo olei), which Plutarch translates by the Greek word litræ. On his voyage to Rome he stayed at Carales (Cagliari) in Sardinia. He reached Rome at the end of July, B.C. 46. (*African War*, 97, &c.)

Dion Cassius (43. c. 15, &c.) gives us a speech of Cæsar before the Senate on his return to Rome.

‡ As Kaltwasser remarks, Plutarch has omitted the triumph over

Libyan, not of course for his victory over Scipio, but over Juba.* On that occasion Juba also, the son of King Juba, who was still an infant, was led in the triumphal procession, most fortunate in his capture, for from being a barbarian and a Numidian he became numbered among the most learned of the Greek writers. After the triumphs Cæsar made large presents to the soldiers, and entertained the people with banquets and spectacles, feasting the whole population at once at twenty-two thousand triclina,† and exhibiting also shows of gladiators and naval combats in honour of his daughter Julia who had been dead for some time. After the shows a census ‡ was taken, in which instead of the three hundred and twenty thousand of former enumerations, there were enrolled only one hundred and fifty thousand. So much desolation had the civil wars produced and so large a proportion of the people had been destroyed in them, not to reckon the miseries that had befallen the rest of Italy and the provinces.

LVI. All this being completed, Cæsar was made Gaul. (Dion Cassius, 43. c. 19; Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 101.) After the triumph Vercingetorix was put to death. Arsinoë, the sister of Kleopatra, appeared in the Egyptian triumph in chains.

* See the Life of Sulla, c. 16 notes; and Dion Cassius, 51. c. 15.

† Plutarch has the word *τρικλινος*. The Latin form is *triclinium*, a couch which would accomodate three persons at table. The word is of Greek origin, and simply means a place which will allow three persons to recline upon it. As *triclinia* were placed in eating-rooms, such a room is sometimes called *triclinium*. It is sometimes incorrectly stated that *triclinium* means three couches, and that a dining-room had the name of *triclinium* because it contained three couches; which is absurd. Vitruvius describes *œci* (dining-rooms) square and large enough to contain four *triclinia*, and leave room also for the servants (vi. 10). It may be true that three couches was a common number in a room.

‡ There was no census this year, as Rualdus quoted by Kaltwasser shows. Augustus had a census made in his sixth consulship, B.C. 28; and there had then been none for twenty-four years. That of B.C. 42 was in the consulship of M. Æmilius Lepidus and Munatius Plancus. It has been remarked that Plutarch gives the exact numbers that are given in Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 41), when he is speaking of the number of poor citizens who received an allowance of corn from the state, which number Cæsar reduced from 320,000 to 150,000. This passage, compared with Dion Cassius (43. c. 21), seems to explain the origin of Plutarch's statement. Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 102) also supposed that it was a census. See Clinton, *Fasti*, *Lustra Romana*, B.C. 50. (See the Life of Caius Gracchus, c. 5, notes.)

consul * for the fourth time, and set out to Iberia to attack the sons of Pompeius, who were still young, but had got together a force of amazing amount and displayed a boldness that showed they were worthy to command, so that they put Cæsar in the greatest danger. The great battle was fought near the city of Munda,† in which Cæsar, seeing that his men were being driven from their ground and making a feeble resistance, ran through the arms and the ranks calling out, "If they had no sense of shame, to take and deliver him up to the boys." With difficulty and after great exertion he put the enemy to flight and slaughtered above thirty thousand of them, but he lost a thousand of his own best soldiers. On retiring after the battle he said to his friends, that he had often fought for victory, but now for the first time he had fought for existence. He gained this victory on the day of the festival of Bacchus, on which day it is said that Pompeius Magnus also went out to battle; the interval was four years. The younger of the sons‡ of Pompeius escaped, but after a few days Didius§ brought the head of the elder. This was the last war that Cæsar was engaged in; but the triumph|| that was celebrated for

* Cæsar was sole consul in the year B.C. 45. He was still dictator.

† Munda was in Bætica, west of Malaca (Malaga). The battle was fought on the day of the Liberalia, the feast of Liber or Bacchus, the 17th of March. Pompeius, B.C. 49, left Brundisium on the Ides of March, the 15th.

The Spanish campaign is contained in a book entitled "*De Bello Hispaniensi*," which is printed with the "*Commentaries of Cæsar*:" thirty thousand men fell on the side of Pompeius, and three thousand equites (c. 31). See also Dion Cassius, 43, c. 36; and Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 104.

‡ Cneius Pompeius, the elder of the two sons of Pompeius Magnus, was overtaken after he had for some time eluded the pursuit of the enemy. His head was carried to Hispalis (Seville) and exhibited in public. Cæsar, who was then at Gades (Cadiz), came shortly after to Hispalis, and addressed the people in a speech. Sextus Pompeius was at Corduba during the battle, and he made his escape on hearing the news of his brother's defeat.

§ C. Didius. According to Dion, On. Pompeius was killed by another set of pursuers, not by Didius. The author of the Spanish War (c. 40) does not mention Didius as having carried the head of Pompeius to Hispalis. After the death of Pompeius, Didius fell in a battle with some Lusitani who had escaped from Munda.

|| Cæsar celebrated his Spanish triumph in October, B.C. 45.

this victory vexed the Romans more than anything else. For this was no victory over foreign leaders nor yet over barbarian kings, but Cæsar had destroyed the children of the bravest of the Romans, who had been unfortunate, and had completely ruined his family, and it was not seemly to celebrate a triumph over the calamities of his country, exulting in these things, for which the only apology both before gods and men was that they had been done of necessity; and that too when he had never before sent either messenger or public letters to announce a victory gained in the civil wars, but had from motives of delicacy rejected all glory on that account.

LVII. However, the Romans, gave way before the fortune of the man and received the bit, and considering the monarchy to be a respite from the civil wars and miseries they appointed him dictator * for life. This was confessedly a tyranny, for the monarchy received in addition to its irresponsibility the character of permanency; and when Cicero † in the Senate had proposed the highest

* Cæsar was appointed Dictator for Life, and consul for ten years. (Appianus, ii. 106.)

The Dictatorship was properly only a temporary office, and created in some great emergency, or for a particular purpose. The first dictator was T. Lartius, who was appointed, B.C. 501. The original period of office was only six months (Livius, ix. 34), and many dictators abdicated, that is, voluntarily resigned the dictatorship before the end of the six months. The Dictator had that authority within the city which the consuls, when in office, only had without. During his term of office there were no consuls. Under the Dictator there was a Magister Equitum, who was sometimes appointed probably by the Dictator. The whole question of the dictatorship is one of considerable difficulty. No dictator had been appointed for one hundred and twenty years before the time when Sulla was appointed; and his dictatorship and that of Cæsar must not be considered as the genuine office. Cæsar was the last Roman who had the title of Dictator. The subject of the Dictatorship is discussed by Niebuhr, *Roman History*, vol. i. 552, *English Transl.*

† The honours decreed to Cæsar in the year before are mentioned by Dion Cassius (43. c. 14). Among other things a large statue of him was made which was supported on a figure of the earth (probably a sphere); and there was the inscription—"Semideus, Half-God." The further honours conferred on Cæsar in this year are recorded by Dion Cassius (43. c. 44, &c.). A statue of the Dictator was to be placed in the temple of Quirinus (Romulus), which was equivalent to calling Cæsar a second founder of Rome. Cicero (*Ad Attic.* xii. 45, and xiii. 28)

honours * to him, which though great were still such as were befitting a human being, others by adding still further honours and vying with one another made Cæsar odious and an object of dislike even to those who were of the most moderate temper, by reason of the extravagant and unusual character of what was decreed; and it is supposed that those who hated Cæsar cooperated in these measures no less than those who were his flatterers, that they might have as many pretexts as possible against him and might be considered to make their attempt upon him with the best ground of complaint. For in all other respects, after the close of the civil wars, he showed himself blameless; and it was not without good reason that the Romans voted a temple to Clemency to commemorate his moderate measures. For he pardoned many of those who had fought against him, and to some he even gave offices and honours, as to Brutus and Cassius, both of whom were Prætors. He also did not allow the statues of Pompeius to remain thrown down, but he set them up again, on which Cicero said that by erecting the statues of Pompeius, Cæsar had firmly fixed his own. When his friends urged him to have guards and many offered their services for this purpose, he would not consent, and he said, that it was better to die at once than to be always expecting death. But for the purpose of surrounding himself with the affection of the Romans as the noblest and also the securest protection, he again courted the people with banquets and distribution of corn, and the soldiers with the foundation of colonies, of which

jokes Atticus on the new neighbour that he was going to have: Atticus lived on the Quirinal Hill, where the temple of Quirinus stood.

The Senate also decreed that Cæsar should use the word *Imperator* as a title prefixed to his name—*Imperator Caius Julius Cæsar*. The old practice was to put it after the name, as *M. Tullius Cicero Imperator*. The title *Imperator* prefixed to the name does not occur on the medals of Cæsar. But this decree of the Senate was the origin of the term *Imperator* being used as a title by the Roman Emperors. (Dion Cassius, 43. c. 44.)

* I do not find what particular honours Cicero proposed. His correspondence with Atticus during this period shows that he was dissatisfied with the state of affairs, and very uneasy about himself, though, as far as concerned Cæsar, he had nothing to fear.

the most conspicuous were Carthage* and Corinth, to both of which it happened that their former capture and their present restoration occurred at once and at the same time.

LVIII. To some of the nobles he promised consulships and prætorships for the future, and others he pacified with certain other offices and honours, and he gave hopes to all, seeking to make it appear that he ruled over them with their own consent, so that when Maximus† the consul died, he appointed Caninius Revilus consul for the one day that still remained of the term of office. When many persons were going, as was usual, to salute the new consul and to form part of his train Cicero said, "We must make haste, or the man will have gone out of office." Cæsar's great success did not divert his natural inclination for great deeds and his ambition to the enjoyment of that for which he had laboured, but serving as fuel and incentives to the future bred in him designs of greater things and love of new glory, as if he had used up what he had already acquired; and the passion was nothing else than emulation of himself as if he were another person, and a kind of rivalry between what he intended and what he had accomplished; and his propositions and designs were to march against the Parthians,‡ and after subduing them and marching through Hyrkania

* Carthage was destroyed B.C. 146; and Corinth in the same year by L. Mummius. Colonies were sent to both places in B.C. 44. (Dion Cassius, 43. c. 50.) Many Romans were sent to settle in both places. (Strabo, p. 833; Pausanias, ii. 1.) The colonization of Carthage had been attempted by Caius Gracchus. (Life of C. Gracchus, c. 11, notes.)

† In B.C. 45 Cæsar was consul for the fourth time and without a colleague. But he laid down the office before the end of the year, and Quintus Fabius Maximus and C. Trebonius were appointed consuls; the first instance of consuls being appointed for a part of the year, which afterwards became a common practice. (Dion Cassius, 43. c. 46.) The appointment of C. Caninius is mentioned by Cicero (*Ad Diversos*, vii. 30), who remarks that nobody dined in that consulship, and that the consul was so vigilant that he did not sleep during his term of office; in fact he was consul for only part of a day. An inscription records the consulships of this year. (Note to Cicero in the Variorum edition.)

‡ On the intended Parthian expedition of Cæsar, see Dion Cassius, 43. c. 51.

and along the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus, and so encompassing the Euxine, to invade Scythia, and after having overrun the countries bordering on the Germans and Germany itself to return through Gaul to Italy, and so to complete his circle of the empire which would be bounded on all sides by the ocean. During this expedition he intended also to dig through the Corinthian Isthmus,* and he had already commissioned Anienus to superintend the work; and to receive the Tiber† immediately below the city in a deep cut, and giving it a bend towards Circeum to make it enter the sea by Tarracina, with the view of giving security and facility to those who came to Rome for the purpose of trade: besides this he designed to draw off the water from the marshes about Pomentium and Setia,‡ and to make them solid ground, which would

* This design of Cæsar is mentioned by Dion Cassius (44. c. 5), Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 441), and Plinius (*H. N.* iv. 4).

† This scheme is not mentioned by any other author that I can find. Circeum, or Circæi, as the Romans called it, is the mountain promontory, now Circello or Circeo, between which and Tarracina lies the southern part of the Pomptine marshes. The intended cut must therefore run nearly in the direction of the Via Appia and to the west of it. But considerable cuttings would be required on that more elevated part of the Campagna which lies between the mountains of Alba and the nearest part of the coast. The basin of the Pomptine marshes is bounded by the offsets of the Alban mountains, the Volscian mountains, and the sea. In the central part it is only a few feet above the sea-level, and in some parts it is below it. When a violent south-west wind raises the sea on the coast between Tarracina and Circeo, the water would be driven into the basin of the Pomptine marshes instead of flowing out. There would therefore be no sufficient fall of water to keep the channel clear, even if the head of the cut, where it originated in the Tiber, were high enough; and that is doubtful. The scheme was probably a canal, which with some locks might be practicable; but if the work could be accomplished, it would probably have no commercial advantages.

‡ Pometia is the common Roman form, from which comes the name of the Pometinæ, or Pomptinæ Paludes, now the Pontine Paludi; the site of Pometia is uncertain. That Cæsar intended to accomplish the drainage of this tract is mentioned by Dion Cassius and Suetonius.

Setia (Sezza), noted for its wine, is on the Volscian hills (the Monti Lepini), and on the eastern margin of the marshes. The physical condition of this tract is described by Prony, in his "*Description Hydrographique et Historique des Marais Pontins*," 4to. Paris, 1822; the work is accompanied by a volume of plans and sections and a map

employ many thousands of men in the cultivation; and where the sea was nearest to Rome he designed to place barriers to it by means of moles, and after clearing away the hidden rocks and dangerous places on the shore of Ostia* to make harbours and naval stations which should give security to the extensive shipping. And all these things were in preparation.

LIX. But the arrangement of the Kalendar† and the of the district. A sketch of the physical character of this district, and of the various attempts to drain it, is also given in the 'Penny Cyclopædia,'—art. *Pomptine Marshes*. See also Westphal's two valuable maps of the Campagna di Roma, and his accompanying Memoir, Berlin and Stettin, 1829.

* Ostia, the old port of Rome, on the east bank of the Tiber near the mouth of the river. The present Ostia is somewhat farther inland, and was built in the ninth century by Pope Gregory the Fourth. There are extensive remains of the old town, but they are in a very decayed condition. "Numerous shafts of columns, which are scattered about in all directions, remains of the walls of extensive buildings, and large heaps of rubbish covered with earth and overgrown with grass, give some, though a faint, idea of the splendour, of the ancient city, which at the time of its greatest splendour, at the beginning of our era, had eighty thousand inhabitants." (Westphal, *Die Römische Kampagne*, p 7.)

† The reformation of the Kalendar was effected in B.C. 46. Dion Cassius (43. c. 26) says that Cæsar was instructed on this subject during his residence at Alexandria in Egypt. The Egyptians had a year of 365 days from a very early date (Herodotus, ii. 4). In this year (B.C. 46) Cæsar intercalated two months of 67 days between November and December, and as this was the year in which, according to the old fashion, the intercalary month of 23 days had been inserted in February, the whole intercalation in this year was 90 days. Cæsar made the reformed year consist of 365 days, and he directed one day to be intercalated in every fourth year (*quarto quoque anno*) in order that the civil year, which began on the 1st of January, might agree with the solar year. The old practice of intercalating a month was of course dropped. The year B.C. 46 was a year of 445 days. By this reformation, says Dion Cassius, all error was avoided except a very small one, and he adds, that to correct the accumulations of this error, it would only be necessary to intercalate one day in 1461 years. But this is a mistake; for in 1460 years there would be an error of nearly eleven days too much. Ten days were actually dropped between the 4th and 15th of October, 1582, by Gregory XIII., with the sanction of the Council of Trent.

A curious mistake was soon made at Rome by the Pontifices who had the regulation of the Kalendar. The rule was to intercalate a day in every fourth year (*quarto quoque anno*). Now such expressions are ambiguous in Latin, as is shown by numerous examples. (Savigny,

correction of the irregularity in the reckoning of time were handled by him skilfully, and being completed were of the most varied utility. For it was not only in very ancient times that the Romans had the periods of the moon in confusion with respect to the year, so that the feasts and festivals gradually changing at last fell out in opposite seasons of the year, but even with respect to the solar year at that time nobody kept any reckoning except the priests, who, as they alone knew the proper time, all of a sudden and when nobody expected it, would insert the intercalary month named Mercedonius, which King Numa is said to have been the first to intercalate, thereby devising a remedy, which was slight and would extend to no great period, for the irregularity in the recurrence of the times, as I have explained in the Life of Numa. But Cæsar laying the problem before the ablest philosophers and mathematicians, from the methods that were laid before him compounded a correction of his own which was more exact, which the Romans use to the present time, and are considered to be in less error than other nations as to the inequality. However, even this furnished matter for complaint to those who envied him and disliked his power; for Cicero, the orator, as it is said, when some observed that Lyra would rise to-morrow, "Yes," he replied, "pursuant to the Edict," meaning that men admitted even this by compulsion.

LX. But the most manifest and deadly hatred towards him was produced by his desire of kingly power, which to the many was the first, and to those who had long nourished a secret hatred of him the most specious, cause.

System des heut. Röm. Rechts, iv. 329.) The expression might mean that both the year one and the year four were to be included in the interpretation of this rule; and the Pontifices interpreted it accordingly. Thus, after intercalating in year one, they intercalated again in year four, instead of in year five. In the time of Augustus, B.C. 8. the error was corrected, and the civil year was set right by dropping the three intercalary days which came next after that year, three being the number of days in excess that had been intercalated. For the future the rule of Cæsar was correctly interpreted. Dion Cassius in expressing the rule as to intercalation uses the phrase, διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν.

The subject of Cæsar's reformation is explained in the notes to Dion Cassius (43. c. 26), ed. Reimarus, and in the article Calendar (*Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*) by Professor Key.

And indeed those who were contriving this honour for Cæsar spread about a certain report among the people, that according to the Sibylline writings* it appeared that Parthia could be conquered by the Romans if they advanced against it with a king, but otherwise could not be assailed. And as Cæsar was going down from Alba to the city, they ventured to salute him as King, but as the people showed their dissatisfaction, Cæsar was disturbed and said that he was not called King but Cæsar; and as hereupon there was a general silence, he passed along with no great cheerfulness nor good humour on his countenance. When some extravagant honours had been decreed to him in the Senate, it happened that he was sitting above the Rostra,† and when the consuls and prætors approached with all the Senate behind them, without rising from his seat, but just as if he were transacting business with private persons, he answered that the honours required rather to be contracted than enlarged. This annoyed not the Senate only, but the people also, who considered that the State was insulted in the persons of the Senate; and those who were not obliged to stay went away forthwith with countenance greatly downcast, so that Cæsar perceiving it forthwith went home, and as he threw his cloak from his shoulders he called out to his friends, that he was ready to offer his throat to anyone who wished to kill him; but afterwards he alleged his disease as an excuse for his behaviour, saying that persons who are so affected cannot usually keep their senses steady when they address a multitude standing, but that the senses being speedily convulsed and whirling about bring on giddiness and are overpowered. However, the fact was not so, for it is said that he was very desirous to rise up when the Senate came, but was checked by one of his friends, or rather one of his flatterers, Cornelius Balbus,‡

* The Romans had a large collection of these writings (*libri Sibyllini*) which were kept in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus under the care of particular functionaries (*duumviri sacrorum*). On this curious subject the reader will find sufficient information in the Penny Cyclopædia,—art. *Sibyl*.

† Dion Cassius (44. c. 8), who tells the story, says that he was seated in the vestibule of the Temple of Venus; and he mentions another excuse that Cæsar had for not rising.

‡ L. Cornelius Balbus was a native of Gades. Pompeius Magnus

who said, "Will you not remember that you are Cæsar, and will you not allow yourself to be honoured as a superior?"

LXI. There was added to these causes of offence the insult offered to the tribunes. It was the festival of the Lupercalia,* about which many writers say that it was originally a festival of the shepherds and had also some relationship to the Arcadian Lykæa. On this occasion many of the young nobles and magistrates run through the city without their toga, and for sport and to make laughter strike those whom they meet with strips of hide that have the hair on; many women of rank also purposely put themselves in the way and present their hands to be struck like children at school, being persuaded that this is favourable to easy parturition for those who are pregnant, and to conception for those who are barren. Cæsar was a spectator, being seated at the Rostra on a golden chair in a triumphal robe; and Antonius was one of those who ran in the sacred race, for he was consul. Accordingly, when he entered the Forum and the crowd made way for him, he presented to Cæsar a diadem† which he carried surrounded with a crown of bay; and there was

gave him the Roman citizenship for his services in Spain against Sertorius, which was confirmed by a lex passed B.C. 72, in the consulship of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. Probably to show his gratitude to the consul, Balbus assumed the Roman name Cornelius. Balbus is often mentioned in Cicero's correspondence. After Cæsar's death he attached himself to Cæsar Octavianus, and he was consul B.C. 40. He left a journal of the events of his own and Cæsar's life. He also urged Hirtius (Pansa) to write the Eighth Book of the Gallic War (Preface addressed to Balbus), Suetonius, Cæsar, 81.

* The Lupercalia are described in the Life of Romulus, c. 21. The festival was celebrated on the 15th of February. It was apparently an old shepherd celebration; and the name of the deity Lupercus appears to be connected with the name Lupus (wolf), the nurturer of the twins Romulus and Remus. Shakspeare, who has literally transferred into his play of Julius Cæsar many passages from North's Plutarch, makes Cæsar say to the consul Antonius—

Forget not, in your speed, Antonius,
To touch Calphurnia; for our elders say,
The barren, touched in this holy chase,
Shake off their sterile curse.

Act I. Sc. 2.

† Dion Cassius (44. c. 9) speaks of the honours conferred on Cæsar and his supposed ambitious designs.

a clapping of hands, not loud, but slight, which had been already concerted. When Cæsar put away the diadem from him all the people clapped their hands, and when Antonius presented it again, only a few clapped; but when Cæsar declined to receive it, again all the people applauded. The experiment having thus failed, Cæsar rose and ordered the crown to be carried to the Capitol. But as Cæsar's statues were seen crowned with royal diadems, two of the tribunes, Flavius and Marullus, went up to them and pulled off the diadems, and having discovered those who had been the first to salute Cæsar as king they led them off to prison. The people followed clapping their hands and calling the tribunes Bruti, because it was Brutus who put down the kingly power and placed the sovereignty in the Senate and people instead of its being in the hands of one man. Cæsar being irritated at this deprived Flavius and Marullus of their office, and while rating them he also insulted the people by frequently calling the tribunes Bruti and Cumæi.*

LXII. In this state of affairs the many turned to Marcus Brutus,† who on his father's side was considered to be a descendant of the ancient Brutus, and on his mother's side belonged to the Servilii, another distinguished house, and he was the son-in-law and nephew of Cato. The honours and favours which Brutus had received from Cæsar dulled him towards attempting of his own proper motion the overthrow of the monarchical power; for not only was his life saved at the battle of Pharsalus after the rout of Pompeius, and many of his friends also at his entreaty, but besides this he had great credit with Cæsar. He had also received among those who then held the prætorship‡ the chief office, and he

* The Latin word "brutus" means "senseless," "stupid." The Cumæi, the inhabitants of Cume in Æolis, were reckoned very stupid. Strabo (p. 622) gives two reasons why this opinion obtained; one of which was, that it was not till three hundred years after the foundation of the city that they thought of making some profit by the customs duties, though they had a port.

† Compare the Life of Brutus, c. 1, Dion Cassius (44. c. 12), and Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Junii, p. 2. This Brutus was not a descendant of him who expelled the last king.

‡ Plutarch means the office of Prætor Urbanus, the highest of the

was to be consul in the fourth year from that time, having been preferred to Cassius who was a rival candidate. For it is said that Cæsar observed that Cassius urged better grounds of preference, but that he could not pass over Brutus. And on one occasion when some persons were calumniating Brutus to him, at a time when the conspiracy was really forming, he would not listen to them, but touching his body with his hand he said to the accusers, "Brutus waits * for this dry skin," by which he intended to signify that Brutus was worthy of the power for his merits, but for the sake of the power would not be ungrateful and a villain. Now, those who were eager for the change and who looked up to him alone, or him as the chief person, did not venture to speak with him on the subject, but by night they used to fill the tribunal and the seat on which he sat when discharging his functions as prætor with writings, most of which were to this purport, "You are asleep, Brutus," and "You are not Brutus." By which Cassius,† perceiving that his ambition was somewhat stirred, urged him more than he had done before, and pricked him on; and Cassius himself had also a private grudge against Cæsar for the reasons which I have mentioned in the Life of Brutus. Indeed Cæsar suspected Cassius, and he once said to his friends, "What think ye is Cassius aiming at? for my part, I like him not over much, for he is over pale." On the other hand it is said that when a rumour reached him, that Antonius and Dolabella were plotting, he said, "I am not much afraid of these well-fed,‡ long-haired fellows, offices called prætorships. There was originally only one prætor, the Prætor Urbanus. There were now sixteen. The Prætor Urbanus was the chief person engaged in the administration of justice in Rome; and hence the allusion to the "tribunal" (βῆμα) where the Prætor sat when he did business.

* I have translated this according to the reading of Sintonis. Compare the Life of Brutus, c. 8. Cæsar was very lean. As to the writings compare Dion Cassius (44. c. 12).

† See the Life of Brutus, c. 89.

‡ *Cæsar*. Let me have men about me that are fat;
Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights:
Yond' Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.

Shakspeare, *Julius Cæsar*, Act i. Sc. 2.

but I rather fear those others, the pale and thin," meaning Cassius and Brutus.*

‡ LXIII. But it appears that destiny is not so much a thing that gives no warning as a thing that cannot be avoided, for they say that wondrous signs and appearances presented themselves. Now, as to lights in the skies and sounds by night moving in various directions and solitary birds descending into the Forum, it is perhaps not worth while recording these with reference to so important an event: but Strabo* the Philosopher relates that many men all of fire were seen contending against one another, and that a soldier's slave emitted a great flame from his hand and appeared to the spectators to be burning, but when the flame went out, the man had sustained no harm; and while Cæsar himself was sacrificing the heart of the victim could not be found, and this was considered a bad omen, for naturally an animal without a heart cannot exist. The following stories also are told by many; that a certain seer warned him to be on his guard against great danger on that day of the month of March, which the Romans call the Ides; † and when the day had arrived, as Cæsar was going to the Senate-house, he saluted the seer and jeered him saying, "Well, the Ides of March are come;" but the seer mildly replied, "Yes, they are come, but they are not yet over." The day before, when Marcus Lepidus was entertaining him, he chanced to be signing some letters, according to his habit, while he was reclining at table; and the conversation having turned on what kind of death was the best, before any one could give an opinion he called out, "That which is unexpected!" After this, while he was sleeping, as he was accustomed to do, by the side of his wife, all the doors and windows in the house flew open at once, and being startled by the noise and the brightness of the moon which was shining down upon him, he observed that Calpurnia‡ was in a deep slumber, but was

* The passage was in the Historical Memoirs. See the Life of Sulla, c. 26; and the Life of Lucullus, c. 28. Notes.

† The Ides of March were the 15th, on which day Cæsar was murdered.

‡ Compare Dion Cassius (44. c. 17). Cæsar also had a dream.

uttering indistinct words and inarticulate groans in the midst of her sleep; and indeed she was dreaming that she held her murdered husband in her arms and was weeping over him. Others say this was not the vision that Calpurnia had, but the following: there was attached to Cæsar's house by way of ornament and distinction pursuant to a vote of the Senate an acroterium,* as Livius says, and Calpurnia in her dream ~~seeing~~ this tumbling down lamented and wept. When day came accordingly she entreated Cæsar, if it were possible, not to go out, and to put off the meeting of the Senate; but if he paid no regard to her dreams, she urged him to inquire by other modes of divination and by sacrifices about the future. Cæsar also, as it seems, had some suspicion and fear; for he had never before detected in Calpurnia any womanish superstition, and now he saw that she was much disturbed. And when the seers also after sacrificing many victims reported to him that the omens were unfavourable, he determined to send Antonius to dismiss the Senate.

LXIV. In the mean time Decimus Brutus,† surnamed

* I have kept Plutarch's word, which is Greek. Suetonius (Cæsar, c. 81) expresses it by the Latin word "fastigium," and also Florus (iv. 2), Cicero (*Philipp.* ii. 43), and Julius Obsequens (c. 127), who enumerates the omens mentioned by Plutarch. The passage of Livius must have been in the 116th Book, which is lost. See the Epitome. The word here probably means a pediment. But it also signifies an ornament, such as a statue placed on the summit of a pediment.

† Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus was the son of Decimus Junius Brutus, Consul B.C. 77, and grandson of Decimus Junius Brutus Callaicus, Consul B.C. 138. He was adopted by Aulus Postumius Albinus, Consul, B.C. 99, whence he took the name Albinus. He served under Cæsar in Gaul, during which campaign he destroyed the fleet of the Veneti. (*Gallie War*, iii. 12, &c.) Decimus Brutus was a great favourite with Cæsar, who by his will placed him in the second degree of succession; he also gave him the province of Cisalpine Gaul, which Brutus held after Cæsar's death, and appointed him to be consul for B.C. 42. In the year B.C. 43, after M. Antonius had united himself with M. Lepidus, the governor of Gallia Narbonensis, and L. Munatius Plancus and Asinius Pollio had also joined M. Antonius, Decimus Brutus attempted to make his escape into Macedonia to Marcus Brutus; but he was overtaken in the Alps by the cavalry of Antonius, and put to death after abjectly praying for mercy. This was the just punishment of a treacherous friend who helped Cæsar to the supreme power and then betrayed him (*Vell. Paternulus*, ii. 64). Like many

Albinus, who was in such favour with Cæsar that he was made in his will his second heir,* but was engaged in the conspiracy with the other Brutus and Cassius, being afraid that if Cæsar escaped that day, the affair might become known, ridiculed the seers and chided Cæsar for giving cause for blame and censure to the Senate who would consider themselves insulted: he said, "That the Senate had met at his bidding and that they were all ready to pass a decree, that he should be proclaimed King of the provinces out of Italy and should wear a diadem whenever he visited the rest of the earth and sea; but if any one shall tell them when they are taking their seats, to be gone now and to come again, when Calpurnia shall have had better dreams, what may we not expect to be said by those who envy you? or who will listen to your friends when they say that this is not slavery and tyranny; but if," he continued, "you are fully resolved to consider the day inauspicious, it is better for you to go yourself and address the Senate and then to adjourn the business." As he said this, Brutus took Cæsar by the hand and began to lead him forth; and he had gone but a little way from the door, when a slave belonging to another person, who was eager to get at Cæsar but was prevented by the press and numbers about him, rushing into the house delivered himself up to Calpurnia and told her to keep him till Cæsar returned, for he had important things to communicate to him.

LXV. Artemidorus,† a Knidian by birth, and a professor of Greek philosophy, which had brought him into other men, he did well enough when he was directed by others, but when he was put in command, he lost his head and threw away the opportunities that he had. There are extant several of his letters to Cicero and letters of Cicero to him. (Dion Cassius, 43. c. 53, and the references in the notes; Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Junii.)

* It was usual for the Romans in their wills to substitute an heres, one or more (in the Roman sense), to take the property in case the person who was first named in the will for any reason did not take it. Cæsar's first heres was his great nephew, C. Octavius, afterwards Augustus.

† It was the general opinion that some roll or writing was put into Cæsar's hands, which informed him of the conspiracy; but, as is usual in such cases, there were different statements current about the particulars of this circumstance. Compare Dion Cassius, 44. c. 18.

the familiarity of some of those who belonged to the party of Brutus, so that he knew the greater part of what was going on, came and brought in a small roll the information which he intended to communicate; but observing that Cæsar gave each roll as he received it to the attendants about him, he came very near, and said, "This you alone should read, Cæsar, and read it soon; for it is about weighty matters which concern you." Accordingly Cæsar received the roll, but he was prevented from reading it by the number of people who came in his way, though he made several attempts, and he entered the Senate holding that roll in his hand and retaining that alone among all that had been presented to him. Some say that it was another person who gave him this roll, and that Artemidorus did not even approach him, but was kept from him all the way by the pressure of the crowd.

LXVI. Now these things perchance may be brought about by mere spontaneity; but the spot that was the scene of that murder and struggle, wherein the Senate was then assembled, which contained the statue of Pompeius * and was a dedication by Pompeius and one of the ornaments that he added to his theatre, completely proved that it was the work of some daemon to guide and call the execution of the deed to that place. It is said also that Cassius † looked towards the statue of Pompeius before the deed was begun and silently invoked it, though he was not averse to the philosophy of Epikurus; but the critical moment for the bold attempt which was now come probably produced in him enthusiasm and feeling in place of his former principles. Now Antonius, ‡ who was faith-

* According to Dion Cassius (44. c. 52) the Senate was assembled in the curia (συνέδριον), which Pompeius had built.

† The two sects of Greek philosophy that had most adherents among the Romans were those of the Epicureans and the Stoics. Cassius, as an Epicurean, would have no faith in any superhuman powers; but in the moments of danger a man's speculative principles give way to the common feelings of all mankind. I have kept Plutarch's word "enthusiasm," which is here to be understood not in our sense, but in the Greek sense of a person under some superhuman influence.

‡ This is a mistake of Plutarch, who has stated the fact correctly in his Life of Brutus (c. 17). It was Caius Trebonius who kept An-

ful to Cæsar and a robust man, was kept on the outside by Brutus Albinus, who purposely engaged him in a long conversation. When Cæsar entered, the Senate rose to do him honour, and some of the party of Brutus stood around his chair at the back, and others presented themselves before him, as if their purpose was to support the prayer of Tillius Cimber * on behalf of his exiled brother, and they all joined in entreaty, following Cæsar as far as his seat. When he had taken his seat and was rejecting their entreaties, and, as they urged them still more strongly, began to show displeasure towards them individually, Tillius taking hold of his toga with both his hands pulled it downwards from the neck, which was the signal for the attack. Casca † was the first to strike him on the neck with his sword, a blow neither mortal nor severe, for as was natural at the beginning of so bold a deed he was confused, and Cæsar turning round seized the dagger and held it fast. And it happened that at the same moment he who was struck cried out in the Roman language, "You villain, Casca, what are you doing?" and he who had given the blow cried out to his brother in Greek, "Brother, help." Such being the beginning, those who were not privy to the conspiracy were prevented by consternation and horror at what was going on either from flying or going to aid, and they did not even venture to utter a word. And now each of the conspirators bared his sword, and Cæsar, being hemmed in all round, in whatever direction he turned meeting blows and swords aimed against his eyes and face, driven about like a wild beast, was caught in the hands of his enemies; for it was arranged that all of them should take a part in and taste of the deed of blood. Accordingly Brutus ‡ also gave him

tonius engaged in talk, as we learn from Dion Cassius (44. c. 10), Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 117), and Cicero, who in a Letter to Trebonius (*Ad Diversos*, x. 28) complains that Trebonius had taken Antonius aside, and so saved his life.

* Some would write Tullius Cimber. See the note of Sintenis. Atilius may be the true name.

† P. Servilius Casca was at this time a tribune of the Plebs (Dion Cassius, 44. c. 52).

‡ Dion Cassius adds (44. c. 19) that Cæsar said to M. Brutus, "And you too, my son." Probably the story of Cæsar's death received many

one blow in the groin. It is said by some authorities, that he defended himself against the rest, moving about his body hither and thither and calling out, till he saw that Brutus had drawn his sword, when he pulled his toga over his face and offered no further resistance, having been driven either by chance or by the conspirators to the base on which the statue of Pompeius stood. And the base was drenched with blood, as if Pompeius was directing the vengeance upon his enemy who was stretched beneath his feet and writhing under his many wounds; for he is said to have received three and twenty wounds. Many of the conspirators were wounded by one another, while they were aiming so many blows against one body.

LXVII. After Cæsar was killed, though Brutus came forward as if he was going to say something about the deed, the Senators,* without waiting to listen, rushed through the door and making their escape filled the people with confusion and indescribable alarm, so that some closed their houses, and others left their tables and places of business, and while some ran to the place to see what had happened, others who had seen it ran away. But Antonius and Lepidus,† who were the chief friends of embellishments. Of his three and twenty wounds, only one was mortal according to the physician Antistius (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 82): but though the wounds severally might not have been mortal, the loss of blood from all might have caused death. Suetonius (c. 82) adds, that Cæsar pierced the arm of Cassius (he mentions two Cassii among the conspirators) with his graphium (stylus). See the notes in Burmann's edition of Suetonius.

The circumstances of the death of Cæsar are minutely stated by Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Julii, p. 728, &c. The reflections of Dion Cassius (44. c. 1, 2) on the death of Cæsar are worth reading. He could not see that any public good was accomplished by this murder; nor can anybody else.

* Cicero was among them. He saw, as he says himself (*Ad Attic.* xiv. 10), the tyrant fall, and he rejoiced. In his letters he speaks with exultation of the murder, and commends the murderers. But he was not let into the secret. They were afraid to trust him. If he had been in the conspiracy, he says (*Philipp.* ii. 14) he would have made clean work; he would have assassinated all the enemies of liberty; in other words, all the chief men of Cæsar's party. He had abjectly humbled himself before Cæsar, who treated him with kind respect. Like all genuine cowards he was cruel when he had power.

† M. Æmilius Lepidus, son of M. Lepidus, consul a.c. 78. He

Cæsar, stole away and fled for refuge to the houses of other persons. The partizans of Brutus, just as they were, warm from the slaughter, and showing their bare swords, advanced all in a body from the Senate-house to the Capitol, not like men who were flying, but exultant and confident, calling the people to liberty and joined by the nobles who met them. Some even went up to the Capitol with them and mingled with them as if they had participated in the deed, and claimed the credit of it, among whom were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther.* But they afterwards paid the penalty of their vanity, for they were put to death by Antonius and the young Cæsar, without having enjoyed even the reputation of that for which they lost their lives, for nobody believed that they had a share in the deed. For neither did those who put them to death, punish them for what they did, but for what they wished to do. On the next day Brutus came down and addressed the people, who listened without expressing disapprobation or approbation of what had been done, but they indicated by their deep silence that they pitied Cæsar and respected Brutus. The Senate, with the view of making an amnesty and conciliating all parties, decreed that Cæsar should be honoured as a god and that not the smallest thing should be disturbed which he had

afterwards formed one of the Triumviri with M. Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar. This was the Lepidus with whom Cæsar supped the day before he was murdered. He was a feeble man, though something of a soldier. Shakspeare has painted him in a few words :

Antony. This is a slight unmeritable man,
Meet to be sent on errands.

Julius Cæsar, Act iv. Sc. 1.

There is more of him in the Lives of Brutus and Antonius.

* I do not know who this Caius Octavius is. There is probably some mistake in the name. Lentulus was the son of P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, consul B.C. 57. He had, like many others, experienced Cæsar's clemency. Plutarch is mistaken in saying that this Spinther was put to death, though he was probably included in the proscription. (See Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Lentuli, p. 545.) The Lentulus who is mentioned as having been put to death in Egypt (Life of Pompeius, c. 80) was L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, consul B.C. 49.

The disturbances which followed Cæsar's death are more particularly described in the Lives of Brutus and Antonius.

settled while he was in power; and they distributed among the partisans of Brutus provinces and suitable honours, so that all people supposed that affairs were quieted and had been settled in the best way.

LXVIII. But when the will* of Cæsar was opened and it was discovered that he had given to every Roman a handsome present, and they saw the body, as it was carried through the Forum, disfigured with the wounds, the multitude, no longer kept within the bounds of propriety and order, but heaping about the corpse benches, lattices and tables taken from the Forum, they set fire to it on the spot and burnt it; then taking the flaming pieces of wood they ran to the houses of the conspirators to fire them, and others ran about the city in all directions seeking for the men to seize and tear them in pieces. But none of the conspirators came in their way, and they were all well protected. One Cinna,† however, a friend of Cæsar, hap-

* Cæsar made Caius Octavius, his sister's grandson, his first heres. He left a legacy to every Roman citizen, the amount of which is variously stated. He also left to the public his gardens on the Tiber. (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, c. 83); Dion Cassius (44. c. 35).

Shakspeare has made a noble scene of the speech of Antonius over Cæsar's body on the opening of the will:

Ant. Here is the will, and under Cæsar's seal;
To every Roman citizen he gives,
To every several man, seventy-five drachmas:
Moreover he hath left you all his walks,
His private arbours and new planted orchards,
On this side Tiber; he hath left them you
And to your heirs for ever; common pleasures,
To walk abroad, and recreate yourselves.
Here was a Cæsar. When comes such another?

Julius Cæsar, Act iii. Sc. 2.

Antonius, according to Roman fashion, made a funeral speech over the body of Cæsar (Life of Antonius, c. 14; of Brutus, c. 20). Dion Cassius (44. c. 36-49) has put a long speech in the mouth of Antonius, mere empty declamation. Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 144-6) gives one which is well enough suited to the character of Antonius. (*Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, ed. Mayer, p. 455.) It is probable that the speech of Antonius was preserved, and was used as materials by the historians.

† This man, who unluckily bore the name of Cinna, was C. Helvius Cinna, a tribune of the plebs, a poet, and a friend of Cæsar. (Dion Cassius, 44. c. 50, and the notes of Reimarus.) The conspirator Cinna

pened, as it is said, to have had a strange dream the night before; for he dreamed that he was invited by Cæsar to sup with him, and when he excused himself, he was dragged along by Cæsar by the hand, against his will and making resistance the while. Now, when he heard that the body of Cæsar was burning in the Forum, he got up and went there out of respect, though he was somewhat alarmed at his dream and had a fever on him. One of the multitude who saw Cinna told his name to another who was inquiring of him, and he again told it to a third, and immediately it spread through the crowd that this man was one of those who had killed Cæsar; and indeed there was one of the conspirators who was named Cinna: and taking this man to be him the people forthwith rushed upon him and tore him in pieces on the spot. It was principally through alarm at this that the partisans of Brutus and Cassius after a few days left the city. But what they did and suffered before they died is told in the Life of Brutus.*

LXIX. At the time of his death Cæsar was full fifty-six years old, having survived Pompeius not much more than four years, and of the power and dominion which all through his life he pursued at so great risk and barely got at last, having reaped the fruit in name only, and with the glory of it the odium of the citizens. Yet his great daemon,† which accompanied him through life, followed him even when he was dead, the avenger of his murder, through every land and sea hunting and tracking out his murderers till not one of them was left, and pursuing even those who in any way whatever had either put their hand to the deed or been participators in the plot. Among human events the strangest was that which befell Cassius, for after his defeat at Philippi he killed himself with the

was the son of L. Cornelius Cinna, who was a partisan of Marius, and was murdered in his fourth consulship (Life of Pompeius, c. 5). Cæsar's wife Cornelia, the mother of his only child Julia, was the sister of the conspirator Cinna, as Plutarch names him. But probably he was not one of the conspirators, though he approved of the deed after it was done. (Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Cinnae, p. 591, notes, and also as to Helvius Cinna.)

* And also in the Life of Antonius.

† Suetonius (*Cæsar*, c. 89) observes that scarce any of his assassins survived him three years; and they all came to a violent end.

same dagger that he had employed against Cæsar; and among signs from heaven, there was the great comet, which appeared conspicuous for seven nights after Cæsar's assassination and then disappeared, and the obscuration of the splendour of the sun. For during all that year the circle of the sun rose pale and without rays, and the warmth that came down from it was weak and feeble, so that the air as it moved was dark and heavy owing to the feebleness of the warmth which penetrated it, and the fruits withered and fell off when they were half ripened and imperfect on account of the coldness of the atmosphere. But chief of all, the phantom that appeared to Brutus showed that Cæsar's murder was not pleasing to the gods; and it was after this manner. When Brutus was going to take his army over from Abydus* to the other continent, he was lying down by night, as his wont was, in his tent, not asleep, but thinking about the future; for it is said that Brutus of all generals was least given to sleep, and had naturally the power of keeping awake longer than any other person. Thinking that he heard a noise near the door, he looked towards the light of the lamp which was already sinking down, and saw a frightful vision of a man of unusual size and savage countenance. At first he was startled, but observing that the figure neither moved nor spoke, but was standing silent by the bed, he asked him who he was. The phantom replied, "Thy bad daemon, Brutus; and thou shalt see me at Philippi." Upon which Brutus boldly replied, "I shall see;" and the daemon immediately disappeared. In course of time having engaged with Antonius and Cæsar at Philippi, in the first battle he was victorious, and after routing that part of the army which was opposed to him he followed up his success and plundered Cæsar's camp. As he was preparing to fight the second battle, the same phantom appeared again by night, without speaking to him, but Brutus, who perceived what his fate was, threw himself headlong into the midst of the danger. However he did not fall in the battle, but when the rout took

* This town was on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. Compare the Life of Brutus, c. 36. 48, and Appianus (*Civil Wars*, iv. 134), Dion Cassius does not mention the ghost story

place, he fled to a precipitous spot, and throwing himself with his breast on his bare sword, a friend also, as it is said, giving strength to the blow, he died.*

* It has been already remarked that Niebuhr is of opinion that the introduction to the Life of Cæsar is lost. This opinion will not appear well founded to those who have got a right conception of the dramatic form in which Plutarch has cast most of his Lives, and more particularly this of Cæsar. He begins by representing him as resisting the tyrant Sulla when others yielded, and then making his way through a long series of events to the supreme power, which he had no sooner attained than he lost it. But his fortune survived him, and the faithless men, his murderers, most of whom owed to him their lives or their fortunes, were pursued by the avenging daemon till they were all hunted down.

A just estimate of the first of all the Romans is not a difficult task. We know him from the evidence of his contemporaries, both friends and enemies. The devoted attachment of his true friends is beyond doubt; and his enemies could not deny his exalted talents. Cicero, who has in various places heaped on him every term of abuse that his copious storehouse contained, does not refuse his testimony to the great abilities and generous character of Cæsar. Drumann (*Geschichte Roms*, Julii) has given an elaborate examination of Cæsar's character. His faults and his vices belonged to his age, and he had them in common with nearly all his contemporaries. His most striking virtues, his magnanimity, his generosity, his mercy to the vanquished, distinguished him among all the Romans of his period. Cæsar was a combination of bodily activity, intellectual power, of literary acquirements, and administrative talent that has seldom appeared. As a soldier he was not inferior in courage and endurance to the hardiest veteran of his legions; and his military ability places him in the first rank of commanders who have contended with and overcome almost insurmountable obstacles. Cicero ranks him in the first class of orators; and his own immortal work, his History of the Gallic Campaign and the Civil War, is a literary monument which distinguishes him among all other commanders. As a speaker and a writer he had no superior among his contemporaries. His varied talents are further shown by his numerous literary labours, of which some small notices remain. His views were large and enlightened, his schemes were vast and boundless. His genius deserved a better sphere than the degenerate republic in which he lived. But the power which he acquired did not die with him. A youth of tender age succeeded to the name and the inheritance of Cæsar, and by his great talents and a long career of wonderful success consolidated that Monarchy which we call the Roman Empire.

Shakspeare has founded his play of Julius Cæsar on Plutarch's Life of Cæsar and the Lives of Brutus and Antonius. The passages in North's version which he has more particularly turned to his purpose are collected in Mr. Knight's edition of Shakspeare (8vo, edition). Shakspeare has three Roman plays, Coriolanus, Julius

Cæsar, and Antony and Cleopatra. As a drama the first is the best. The play of Julius Cæsar has been estimated very differently by different critics. Mr. Knight has many valuable remarks on these Roman plays (vol. xi.), and he has shown the way, as he conceives, in which they should be viewed. The Julius Cæsar is so constructed as to show the usurpation and death of Cæsar, and the fall of Brutus, the chief of the assassins, at the battle of Philippi. With Brutus the hopes of his party fell. The play should therefore rather be entitled *Marcus Brutus than Julius Cæsar*; and it is deficient in that unity without which no great dramatic effect can be produced. The name and the fame of Cæsar,

the noblest man,
That ever lived in the tide of time,

obscure the meaner talents of Brutus; and that death which in Plutarch forms a truly tragical catastrophe, here occurs in the middle of the action, which would appropriately terminate with it. But we have to follow the historical course of events; we follow Brutus to his fate at the battle of Philippi, and witness the vengeance of which Cæsar's ghost forewarns the false friends. Shakspeare may have meant to represent Brutus as the last of the Romans, and the Republic as dying with him; but he also represents him as haunted by the ghost of his murdered benefactor, and losing heart before the final contest. The "great dæmon" of Cæsar avenged him on his enemies; and in this point of view the play has a unity. Brutus dies like a Roman, and that murder to which he was led by the instigation of others, only renders the Monarchy inevitable and necessary. But if the play is faulty in construction, as I venture to think it is, it has other merits of the highest order, which place it in some respects among the best works of the great master of dramatic art.

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